

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

International Economic and Political Studies

**The Effects of Cold War Speech in the Post-
Cold War World: Identification of the
Enemy in the War on Terror**

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Master's thesis

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Solemn declaration

I swear that I wrote this thesis myself and that I have credited all the sources and literature that I used to write this thesis. I agree with this thesis being made available for study and research purposes.

Prague, May 21, 2009

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Annotation

This work is a discursive analysis exploring the effects of US presidential Cold War speech on the identification of the “Enemy.” It examines the usage of metaphors in key speeches from Truman, Eisenhower, Reagan, and G.H.W. Bush in order to determine the composition and evolution of the identity of the Cold War “Enemy.” This identity is then compared and contrasted to the one created by the usage of metaphors concerning the War on Terror by G.W. Bush. It is concluded that the identification of the Cold War “Enemy” and the identification of the War on Terror “Enemy” are connected, but that this connection only exists among the metaphorical usages least dependent on the pre-identification of the “Enemy” as a state actor.

Keywords

Cold War; War on Terror; metaphor; discursive analysis

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Abstract

This work is a discursive analysis exploring the effects of US presidential Cold War speech on the identification of the “Enemy.” It examines the usage of metaphors in key speeches from Truman, Eisenhower, Reagan, and G.H.W. Bush in order to determine the composition and evolution of the identity of the Cold War “Enemy.” This identity is then compared and contrasted to that created by the usage of metaphors concerning the War on Terror by G.W. Bush.

The theory of discursive analysis used in this work stems from beginnings in philosophy several decades old. Over time, the theory of discursive analysis was honed towards many different schools and areas of study. The specific branch which this work springs from holds that language shapes political and physical reality. Coming out of this theory, this work aims to explore whether or not exposure to Cold War rhetoric had an impact over time between different administrations as well as between different conflicts.

The method of analysis is an adaptation of previous methods of metaphorical analysis. Eight general conceptual metaphors are chosen as a guiding structure throughout all of the speeches. Corresponding metaphorical expressions are then gathered according to the conceptual metaphor being analyzed. The frequency of metaphorical expressions, and the relative “strength” of the conceptual metaphor over time are then determined and analyzed.

It is concluded that the identity of the Cold War “Enemy” and the identity of the War on Terror “Enemy” are connected, but that this connection only exists among the metaphorical usages least dependent on the pre-identification of the “Enemy” as a state actor.

I. Introduction

Introduction

“An end has been put to the ‘Cold War,’ the arms race, and the insane militarization of our country, which crippled our economy, distorted our thinking and undermined our morals. The threat of a world war is no more.”

—Mikhail Gorbachev

“Even in the midst of celebration, we must keep caution as a friend. For the world is still a dangerous place. Only the dead have seen the end of conflict. And though yesterday's challenges are behind us, tomorrow's are being born.”

—George H.W. Bush

The Cold War officially ended some fifteen years ago. It lasted for almost fifty, and the hostilities and mistrust that existed between the Soviet Union and the countries of Western Europe and the United States go back further still. During this time, the United States of America used a unique rhetoric to discuss, design, and describe policies and responses to international events that had never been experienced in the world before. The very term “Cold War,” an international event that lasted two generations, which was neither fully war nor fully peace, but rather a perpetual conflict of some nature between states and ideologies, is an example of both this new situation and rhetoric. It is the goal of this work to investigate whether or not (and if so, to what extent) this long-standing and unique situation, and specifically the rhetoric that it spawned, continued to have a profound effect on the United States’ understandings, interpretations, and responses to the terrorist attacks occurring on September 11, 2001. The specific focus of this discursive analysis will be on the identification of the enemy during the Cold War period and if and how this identification of the enemy was perpetuated on into the War on Terror.

Structure of the Thesis

Though the hypothesis is a statement, it will be investigated from the standpoint of a question being raised and not a thesis being proved. Is it really the case, or not, that

the rhetoric of the Cold War impacted the thinking of the G.W. Bush administration, reflected in its rhetoric, during its absorption of and response to the terrorist attacks; and if it had, what is this effect?

Chapter II introduces and examines the theory behind discursive analysis. It begins with the broad base of discursive analysis grounded in philosophy and progressively narrows towards the form of critical analysis found in the social and political sciences which is used in this work. This way of introducing the general and specific theories used in this work has two aims. First, it is intended to show at one time both the roots and the evolution of the theory. Secondly, it is intended to demonstrate that there are many specific theories under the broad heading “discursive analysis” and to differentiate the specific critical analysis in this work from the other forms.

Chapter III provides an introduction to the methodology used for this work. Likewise, in this chapter, necessary terms will be defined. After this, the eight conceptual metaphors which form the base of the analysis will be presented and explained.

Chapters IV, V, and VI form the body of the analysis and present the course of this investigation through the analysis of the signature presidential speeches from three time periods concerned; those being The Beginning of the Cold War (Chapter IV), The End of the Cold War (Chapter V), and The Beginning of the War on Terror (Chapter VI). The beginning of the Cold War period will be the reference point for the other two periods to be compared to. The language and metaphors used in the speeches from each of these periods will be analyzed first individually and then collectively in search of any connections or trends crossing from the reference period to a later period.

Only speeches made by the various presidents were chosen for analysis. While not ideal, this limitation is a necessary result of various constraints, not the least of which being to present a work of an appropriate length. The speeches that were chosen, called “signature speeches” above, had to meet certain requirements in addition to having been made by presidents. They must have been broadcast publicly, ensuring that the most people possible would be exposed to the rhetoric and metaphors being used, thereby allowing for the greatest possible impact. They must have been important speeches, such

as State of the Union Addresses or special addresses or remarks concerning important events, again to ensure the widest possible exposure. They must have made some impact or link easily recalled in the popular political culture. What this last point means is easily demonstrated by the popular change in names of some of the speeches. For example, the first speech analyzed is Truman's "Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey." This name, however, is not how the speech is commonly known as. It is commonly known as "The Truman Doctrine." Likewise, Reagan's "Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida" is known as "The Evil Empire" speech.

Truman's "Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey," which became the Truman Doctrine, is picked as the beginning point of the Cold War for the purposes of this work. Though the foundations of the Cold War may lie in the conclusion of World War II¹, the "spark," if any may be defined, did not come until afterwards.² The establishment of the Truman Doctrine in 1947 publicly committed the United States to a course of action whose goal was to limit the influence of the Soviet Union.

The speech chosen as the end point of the Cold War in this work is G.H.W. Bush's "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union" from 1992. This speech was chosen for two reasons. First, it was chosen because it was the first major speech Bush gave after the fall of the Soviet Union. Second, he declares not only that the Cold War is over, but that the US won it.

The analysis on the War on Terror begins with the announcement by G.W. Bush of the attacks themselves. This was chosen so as to best capture the transition from "peace" to "war." The final speech chosen for analysis was Bush's State of the Union of 2002 given almost four months after the attacks. This speech was chosen because, by that time, Bush had laid the rhetorical framework that would guide the further advancement of the US into the War on Terror. He had invaded Afghanistan, presented what would become known as the Bush Doctrine, and denounced the "axis of evil," of which Iraq was a part.

¹ Gaddis. *The Cold War*. 2007. pg 18-27.

² Gaddis. *The Cold War*. 2007. pg 27-34.

Chapters IV, V, and VI will each in turn discuss the rhetoric and some of the implications of the rhetoric of the three periods. This will be done by separating each chapter into eight subsections. The title of each subsection is the specific conceptual metaphor being there analyzed.

Chapter VII provides a conclusion. This chapter will provide a brief summary discussion of the results of the discursive analysis as well as some implications of the rhetoric from the three previous chapters. It will conclude that there *is* an influence from the Cold War on the War on Terror in the conceptual metaphors concerned solely with the identification of the enemy, while there *is not* a very strong connection between the periods in the conceptual metaphors concerned also with the identification of the enemy in terms of nations and government systems.

Before entering the body of the thesis, however, it is necessary to provide a brief discussion on the importance of language as well as to explain how this work intends to differentiate itself from other similar works.

The Importance of Language

Language is what allows our ideas to connect with the world. It is the bridge between our mind and reality. To understand this better, let us look at Locke's tenets concerning his ideational theory of meaning.

Locke presents that a word develops meaning by being "attached" to an idea. A classification of meaningful words is "general terms," and it is important to have an understanding of how generality and general ideas work.³ Locke continues to write that there is no generality in the world because generality cannot exist in the determinate features of the physical world which are represented by sensorial data.⁴ For example, a single specific coffee mug has one determinate weight and composition such as metal or plastic. Locke maintains, however, that generality does exist in the mind as general ideas attached to general terms,⁵ such as that of "mug" referring to all mugs whether they are metallic or plastic or porcelain, having all different shapes, colors, and weights, inscribed

³ Locke, John. "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding." 1998. pg 330.

⁴ Locke, John. "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding." 1998. pg 330.

⁵ Locke, John. "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding." 1998. pg 330.

with various logos or nothing at all. Locke concludes that, “words become general by being made the signs of general *ideas*; and *ideas* become general by separating from them ... any other *ideas* that may determine them to this or that particular existence. By this way of abstraction they ... [represent] more individuals than one; each ... having in it a conformity to that abstract *idea*.”⁶

For several sections of his essay, Locke provides examples of these last two tenets, those being of generality in the mind and the use of abstraction in creating general ideas. In *Section 7*, he describes the progression in a child from placing specific terms on its specific ideas of mother and nurse, to bestowing the general term “[hu]man” to those two particular people as well as all others the child might meet.⁷ In *Section 9*, Locke asks those who still doubt this theory of abstraction to “tell me in what does his *idea* of *man* differ from that of *Peter* and *Paul*, or his *idea* of *horse* from that of *Bucephalus*, but in the leaving out something that is peculiar to each individual, and retaining so much of those particular complex *ideas* of several particular existences as they are found to agree in?”⁸

In short, what all this means is that the world is full of only individual and unique things that cannot really be grouped into general categories. Our mind, through the removal of details that keep objects individual and unique, can form a general idea and give it a general name, such as “human” or “mug.” A very important point not investigated by Locke, however, is the influence on the process of forming that general idea and general name.

If instead of Locke’s “mother” and “nurse” aiding the child in the formation of the general idea “human” there was some other person with a different intent, the child could be aided in forming a general idea whereby all humans were “mother.” If the wrong details are removed from a set of individual and unique things, the general idea and the understanding of it could be greatly altered. To take examples from this work, if all Communists are referred to equally with Soviets, then the end of the Soviet Union is the end of Communism, even though China, Vietnam, and Cuba all remain Communist.

⁶ Locke, John. “An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.” 1998. pg 330.

⁷ Locke, John. “An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.” 1998. pg 330-331.

⁸ Locke, John. “An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.” 1998. pg 331.

Previous Literature

Previous literature, either incorporating discursive analysis or being wholly dedicated to it, is different from this work in two key areas. The first area of difference is the scope of these previous works. The second area of difference is their intent.

The scope of previous works concerned with discursive analysis was either concentrated on the Cold War or on the War on Terror. Examples of this are Robert L. Ivie's three chapters on Cold War metaphor in *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology*, Parry-Giles' *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955*, Campbell's *Writing Security*, and Adam Hodges and Chad Nilep's *Discourse, War and Terrorism*. Often, works containing discursive analysis only provided small sections as parts of larger discussions concerning these two themes in International Relations. Ivie is again an example, but so are Cameron's *US Foreign Policy After the Cold War* and Colas' *The War on Terrorism and the American 'Empire' after the Cold War*. In addition to this separation, the concentration lay more with the War on Terror, for the obvious reason of its being a more current topic.

The intent of the works was a very important area of difference. The previous works seemed to fall into two categories, one already alluded to above. This first category of intent was to provide a comprehensive study of the Cold War and/or the War on Terror. As such, discursive analysis was only one component included along with other schools of International Relations, history, and governmental systems analysis. Examples of these works are again Cameron's *US Foreign Policy After the Cold War* and Colas' *The War on Terrorism and the American 'Empire' after the Cold War*. The second category of intent was to use discursive analysis as a tool towards making normative statements. In this case, discursive analysis was not conducted in order to merely understand or report findings, but to supply a basis for passing judgment. Jackson's *Writing the War on Terrorism* is a good example of this.

This work differs from previous works in both categories. In terms of scope, this work aims to take a more in depth look at the rhetorical relationship between the Cold War and the War on Terror both, with the goal being not merely to understand one and the other separately, but to understand what they share. In terms of intent, this work is

dedicated wholly to the discursive analysis of these two themes. Regarding normative statements, this work strives to not provide any, attempting rather to provide positive statements and analysis and no more.

II. Theory

“Discourse analysis,” as a term, covers many disciplines, many schools, and many methods and theories. Moreover, many of these methods and theories are dynamic, constantly changing and being applied in new ways and to new subjects of inquiry. As such, it is helpful to begin with a base in discourse analysis as a whole, before slowly narrowing in on the specific form used in this work.

Brown and Yule’s *Discourse Analysis* provides one half of such a base. Though the text is grounded heavily in philosophy of language and linguistics, or perhaps because of it, their understanding and dissection of discourse can be found among the first steps of any further analysis. They define discourse as, “a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication in a context by a speaker/writer to express meanings and achieve intentions.”⁹ Due to the dynamic nature of discourse, “it is necessary to know ... who the speaker and hearer are, and the time and place of the production of the discourse,”¹⁰ in order to properly analyze and understand a particular instance of discourse. Furthermore, due in part to this contextuality of time, space, and participants, it is important to recognize “what a speaker can imply, suggest, or mean, as distinct from what the speaker literally says.”¹¹ These three points in particular are important to the formation of this work.

Where Brown and Yule provide one half of the base, the work of Titscher, Jenner, and Meyer provide the other half. Their *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning* is an almost encyclopedic catalog spawned from, and aimed at making sense of, the disparate and dynamic methods and theories subsumed under “discourse analysis.” They investigate, record, and describe twelve disciplines and sub-disciplines which claim in some manner the title of discourse analysis, from grammarians and philosophers to socio-political scientists concerned with critical discourse analysis. It is within this last discipline that this work belongs.

⁹ Brown. *Discourse Analysis*. 1983. pg 26.

¹⁰ Brown. *Discourse Analysis*. 1983. pg 27.

¹¹ Brown. *Discourse Analysis*. 1983. pg 31.

Critical discourse analysis, as developed over the last thirty to forty years, has produced certain theoretical principles. Critical discourse analysis is not concerned with isolated language, but with the impact of and interaction between language and society. In this way, language and society are seen to shape and be shaped by each other, as well as, unitedly, to constitute discourse itself. Traditionally, power-relations are intimately involved with discourse, and as such studying the relationship between power and discourse is key. Other areas uniquely related with discourse are general social conditions in a culture as well as ideologies in a culture. Though a particular discourse must be analyzed with an understanding towards its historical context, it must also be recognized to connect with, impact, and be impacted by other discourses. Finally, critical discourse analysis, by being both interpretative and explanatory in nature, is dynamic and is always open to new interpretations based on new contexts and information.¹²

A key distinction of critical discourse analysis from other forms of discourse analysis is its concept of context. Context is usually understood in terms of the relations of the different parts of the discourse to itself and/or to the setting the discourse is in.¹³ In critical discourse analysis, context is understood to be in terms of the surrounding language and setting of the discourse, its relations to other discourses, and the cultural knowledge brought to the discourse by its participants.¹⁴ This unique combination strives to lay bare “the frequently unclear and hidden ideological effects of language use ... [and] power-relations.”¹⁵ With its interest in ideologies, power-relations, and social conditions, one of the main applications of critical discourse analysis has been in the area of identifying and the striving to resolve inherent prejudices, be they sexual, racial, or other forms.¹⁶ However, the areas of application extend to all themes of social power. Beyond prejudices, these themes include language in politics and language in

¹² Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 146.

¹³ Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 147.

¹⁴ Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 147-148.

¹⁵ Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 147.

¹⁶ Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 147.

organizations.¹⁷ Recently, critical discourse analysis has been extended to studying the European Union.¹⁸

In discussing examples of critical discourse analysis, the authors describe an analysis of the power relations and identity (with obvious gender overtones) of Margaret Thatcher. This including tensions between traditional gender roles and between authority and the populace itself. In this example, discourse is applied contextually to the physical appearance of Thatcher, while textually to her use of pronouns and their various effects producing a sense of authority, solidarity, or dominance.¹⁹

A further example provided by the authors concerns xenophobia in Austria as expressed through newspaper articles. In this instance, the analysis is based largely on metaphors of threat describing and placing in a bad light the Eastern immigrants who came to Austria during the 80's and the 90's. The effects of the discourse painting the Eastern refugees as criminals and dishonest money-seekers led to the evolution of the discourse into one of expulsion of the refugees and then into justification of that expulsion. All the while, the metaphors describing the Austrians were good and heroic, while those describing the refugees went from needy to criminal.²⁰ It is this final example, with the analysis of the use of metaphor, which touches upon the specific area that this work is concerned with.

The study of metaphors was greatly aided by the work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By*. Contradicting the standard grammatical definition of metaphors as being simply constructs of language, based on objective similarity with little additional meaning; Lakoff and Johnson both explain and demonstrate the pervasiveness and enhanced meanings of metaphors related to the spatialization and anthropomorphization of concepts. As opposed to being mere lingual

¹⁷ Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 164.

¹⁸ Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 158, 165. For examples of use in studying the EU, see Mike Luoma-aho's "'Arm' versus 'pillar': the politics of metaphors of the Western European Union at the 1990-91 Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union" in *Journal of European Public Policy* Volume 11:1, February, 2004, pages 106-127; and Petr Drulak's "Motion, Container and Equilibrium: Metaphors in the Discourse about European Integration" in *European Journal of International Relations* Volume 12:4, 2006 pages 499-531.

¹⁹ Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 151-52.

²⁰ Titscher. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. 2000. pg 160-164.

constructs, they argue that metaphor is key to human understanding, especially in terms of abstract concepts.²¹

With Lakoff and Johnson's work as an underlying or contributing base for analysis, many works have been produced concerned in whole or in part with analyzing metaphors in order to understand their impact on politics and/or international relations. Contributions produced during and concerned with the G.W. Bush presidency are especially popular at the present time. Lakoff has further contributed to this area with recent works such as *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*, *Thinking Points: Communicating Our American Values and Vision: A Progressive's Handbook*, and *Whose Freedom?: The Battle Over America's Most Important Idea*. As is obvious from some of the titles, Lakoff has entered into normative arguments about current policy and domestic politics.

Works which are in similar vein to this one which do not enter into normative arguments are difficult to find. Those which do present themselves share only part of the scope of this work. Two good examples of this are Robert L. Ivie's three chapters on Cold War metaphor in *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology*, and Adam Hodges and Chad Nilep's *Discourse, War and Terrorism*.

Ivie comes closest to the intentions of this work. Describing the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, he says that "Rhetorical motives ... have evolved over four decades into powerful conventions of public discourse that diminish the political imagination, undermine the incentive to envision better alternatives, and thus reduce the scope of practical options available to leaders."²² This conclusion concerning Cold War rhetoric is closely related to the thesis of this work in regards to the relationship of the Cold War with the War on Terror. Ivie further comments that, the more a "critic" or analyst reads and becomes familiar with both the texts and contexts of Cold War discourse, the more they find that initial obvious figurative terms and conceptual metaphors reveal more and more new layers of conceptual metaphors, until they find an entire underlying system of conceptual metaphors interacting with one-

²¹ Lakoff. *Metaphors We Live By*. 1980.

²² Ivie. "Cold War Motives and the Rhetorical Metaphor: a Framework of Criticism." *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology*. 1997. pg 71.

another throughout the texts.²³ This observation corresponds to the findings made in this work as well.

In terms of the War on Terror, Hodges and Nilep's work is a valuable contribution to discourse analysis on this topic. In commenting on the 9/11 Commission's report stating that the attacks transformed the United States, Hodges and Nilep state:

[A]ny transformation that has taken place ... was affected through the use of language. Both the Immediate reactions to events unfolding on that day, and understandings that have since come about are realized through discourse and human interaction. Language is used to create meanings; and the process of meaning making is inherently political in that it is imbued with relations of power that come together to maneuver, contest, and negotiate the meanings at stake.²⁴

The case studies throughout the book exemplifying this concept reach far beyond this work in both scope and speech community, taking into the analysis media roles, effects on gender, and German and Arabic speech communities. Hodges' work in the chapter "The Narrative Construction of Identity: The Adequation of Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden in the 'War on Terror,'" however, is an in-depth analysis of this particular evolution in identifying the enemy which is also touched upon later in this work.

To summarize, critical discourse analysis holds that what is written or said, combined with the speaker and audience as well as the setting of time, space, culture, and rhetorical and textual history has many impacts. These impacts are on the understanding of the topics being discussed, including the structuring of options, events, and identities; through this structuring of discourse, impacting upon any future reference to or relation with the topic and possibly with similar topics; and through this mental structuring, impacting upon the real world through the choices made and the accepted understandings of events and peoples. Metaphor in particular is a valuable area of discourse to study because of its seemingly benign nature, though the various underlying meanings

²³ Ivie. "Cold War Motives and the Rhetorical Metaphor: a Framework of Criticism." *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology*. 1997. pg 74.

²⁴ Hodges. *Discourse, War and Terrorism*. 2007. pg 2.

associated with the source domain enhance the impacts mentioned above on the target domain. The study of metaphors in International Relations is new compared to other schools, though much work has already been done in analyzing the rhetoric of both the Cold War and the War on Terror. This work aims to study the possible connection between these two previously separate universes of discourse.

III. Methodology

Definition of Terms

There are two sets of terms in particular which are necessary to clarify in this work. The first set is “target domain” and “source domain.” The second set is “conceptual metaphors” and “metaphorical expressions.”

A metaphor is based on the relationship between the “target,” which is what one is trying to explain or understand, and the “source,” which is what one is trying to use in order to explain or understand. For example, THE STATE IS A PERSON contains what we are trying to understand, namely the “state” and the tool to understand it, namely the “person” or “body.” Here, “person” is the source domain. We are intimately aware of the source domain. We understand it better than the target domain “state.” Therefore we use the qualities of the source domain to understand the qualities of the target domain. Discussing the second set of terms will help further explain this.

A conceptual metaphor may be thought of as a general or over-arching type of metaphor, such as THE STATE IS A PERSON. A metaphorical expression is a specific metaphor which can fit or be subsumed under a conceptual metaphor. For example, the metaphorical expressions “the head of state,” “the arm of the military,” and “the body of the people” all fit under the conceptual metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON.

The metaphorical expressions in this example come from what we know about the body. We think of our physical heads as the place where reason and judgment “reside,” and likewise we attribute these qualities to the leadership of a state. Similarly, we think of the arms of the body as being the place of power, or with what we defend or attack with. We attribute these qualities to the military of a state.

Methodology

This work is a form of discursive analysis, whereby the rhetoric and metaphors of the universe of discourse (presidential speeches from the beginning and end of the Cold War as well as from the beginning of the War on Terror) are analyzed in order to understand how the language itself may impact the understanding of the subject material.

In addition to the impact on understanding, however, this work aims to search for a connection between the rhetoric and metaphors used in three different periods of time. With this in mind, previously existing methods of analysis have been slightly tailored to meet the needs of this work.

The initial method upon which this work is based is taken from Drulak's critique of Jäkel.²⁵ Drulak revises Jäkel's 12 methodological steps into seven:

1. Choice of the target domain and of the speech community.
2. Corpus (universe of discourse) collection and deduction of conceptual metaphors.
3. Search for metaphorical expressions.
4. Revision of conceptual metaphors.
5. Establishment of frequencies.
6. Comparison of distinct discursive segments.
7. Elaboration of practical implications.

Because the goal of this work is to analyze rhetoric and metaphors across time to see if there is an impact from one time period on the next, the above steps 2, 3, and 4 have been slightly altered.

Instead of forming conceptual metaphors for the entire universe of discourse (step 2) and collecting metaphorical expressions accordingly (step 3) before revising (step 4), all of these three steps were first applied to the first administration in the first time period being investigated. Since the goal is to see the impact from one period of time on the next, if the first period does not provide support for certain conceptual metaphors, the attempt to find them in later time periods is moot to the thesis of the work.

Another alteration due to the temporal concerns of this work deals with step 5 and step 6. The quantitative and qualitative virtues of these two steps are both combined and altered. Due to the temporal concerns of this work, the importance of frequency is expressed, not from speech to speech, but from period to period. Furthermore, the

²⁵ Drulak. "Identifying and assessing metaphors: discourse on EU reform." 2008. pg 105-118.

qualitative importance of the frequency is not in the conceptual metaphor as a whole, so much as it is in the individual metaphorical expressions. The qualitative nature in this work, therefore, is split simply between strong metaphorical expressions and weak metaphorical expressions. Strong metaphorical expressions are those which may be considered as “traditional metaphors,” for lack of a better term, which express both source and target clearly and in close proximity to each other. Weak metaphorical expressions are those which source and target are not in close proximity or where one or the other are implied. They rest on the edge of the precipice between providing metaphorical meaning and not. The line is subjective to an unfortunate extent, but such is the nature, at times, of qualitative allotment.

There is one more alteration which is not specifically related to the temporal nature of this work. This alteration occurs again in step 2. Rather than deduction of the conceptual metaphors from the universe of discourse, as discussed below, the conceptual metaphors are based on subjective experience. The reasoning for this returns to the temporal interests of this work, but is not inherent in those interests. Having grown up during the end of the Cold War and come of age during the beginning of the War on Terror, the rhetoric and experiences that I have been exposed to as a matter of education, culture, and media exposure are a good place to look back from. Thus, the conceptual metaphors as seen in the final time period were taken back to the initial time period to look for their possible genesis.

Thus, the altered methodological framework is as follows:

1. Choice of the target domain and of the speech community.
2. Formation of the universe of discourse (corpus).
3. Formation of conceptual metaphors for the first subset of the universe of discourse.
4. Search for metaphorical expressions in the first subset.
5. Revision of conceptual metaphors for the first subset.
6. Application of revised conceptual metaphors to the rest of the universe of discourse.

7. Search for metaphorical expressions in the rest of the universe of discourse.
8. Establishment of frequencies and delineation of strong and weak metaphorical expressions.
9. Elaboration of practical implications.

Conceptual Metaphors

Each chapter is split into eight sections according to the eight conceptual metaphors being analyzed. Those eight conceptual metaphors are: COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS THREAT; COMMUNISTS/TERRORISTS IS OFFENDERS; NON-COMMUNIST/NON-TERRORIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM; COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY; ECONOMICS IS DETERMINATOR OF POLITICS; COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS IMPOSED SYSTEM; COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS EVIL; COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS PERVERSION. Each of these conceptual metaphors concerns the formation and clarification of the identity of “the enemy” from the position of the US as expressed through US presidential speeches. In all cases, the choices of the conceptual metaphors were based off of a casual and superficial introduction with the material before beginning this work, that including everything from previous studies to film and print portrayals of “the enemy.”

The first conceptual metaphor needs to be explained before it is introduced along with the others. It is COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS THREAT, but with a specific area of interest. A “threat” is understood here as an actual or possible change to the status quo as perceived by those who support the status quo. One of the qualities of a threat is that is spatially and/or temporally present, or has the potential to be spatially and/or temporally present. If it does not satisfy at least one of these criteria, it is not a threat because it cannot impact the status quo. It is this perception of threat specifically that is looked at and analyzed in the following chapters.

The choice of COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS THREAT as a conceptual metaphor was influenced by both the Cold War and the War on Terror. In the former, the threat of instant nuclear holocaust was supposed to be always present. In the latter, the

possibility, at times fulfilled, of another unforeseen terrorist attack has remained always present.

The choice of COMMUNISTS/TERRORISTS IS OFFENDERS likewise comes from both “wars.” In almost all instances, both communists and terrorists were displayed as the first actors in any kind of offensive occurrence. The US always responded, being the defender.

The choice of NON-COMMUNIST/NON-TERRORIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM was influenced mainly by the Cold War. This was for two reasons. First, the Cold War has long been represented as a “war” between not only economic ideologies, but between the free West and the totalitarian East. Second, as will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, the concept of “nation” is more compatible with Communism than with terrorism. There have been many self-declared Communist nations and Communist states, whereas there have been few if any self-declared terrorist nations.

The choice of COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY was influenced greatly by the Cold War, though to a lesser extent also by the War on Terror. So often, Communism was spoken of as being one thing. Even on some maps, from the border with West Germany to the Pacific Ocean, there was one color for all the Communist states implying a unity of sorts that did not exist elsewhere. The influence from the War on Terror is less dramatic than those maps, though still important. So often in news reports after a terrorist attack somewhere, there were mentionings of the authorities trying to connect the group to al Qaeda, or that the group had declared itself connected to al Qaeda. Also, often the names of the various groups are not used at all, nor are their grievances or intentions or ideologies explained; and they are put into one overarching container labeled “terrorists.”

ECONOMICS IS DETERMINATOR OF POLITICS was influenced by the Cold War. The connection was often presented that the poor and downtrodden and destitute were more sympathetic to Communists and to Communist ideologies and policies. The idea was that if enough money was spent to help enough of the poor rise out of poverty, the Communists would not be able to gain enough support to take control of the country.

COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS IMPOSED SYSTEM was influenced by the Cold War as well. Similarly to NON-COMMUNIST/NON-TERRORIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM, this conceptual metaphor is more easily associated with state systems, and thereby with Communism rather than with terrorism. Also, the history of the spread of Communism into Europe, where only one state actually voted to place the Communists in power, strongly supports the relationship of Communism with imposition.

COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS EVIL was influenced equally by the Cold War as well as by the War on Terror. In both instances, they were famous metaphorical expressions which influenced the choice. The first was Reagan's declaration of the USSR as an "evil empire." The second was G.W. Bush's pronouncement of the "axis of evil."

COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS PERVERSION was influenced almost exclusively by the War on Terror. The concept of the murder of innocent people being somehow tied in with religious Good and God's will is anathema. It is even more so when the vast majority of the practitioners of that same faith hold such a concept to be a blasphemous atrocity.

IV. The Beginning of the Cold War: Truman and Eisenhower

COMMUNISM IS THREAT

To speak of any threat as present in time seems normal. Some threats are spoken of in terms of the past, such as historical situations. Even among the universe of discourse selected here, the threat of aggression in the 1930's is referenced. To speak of a threat in the future seems almost impossible, for any threat recognized now as coming to fruition in the future or potentially coming to fruition in the future extends itself back to the present, and so becomes a present threat of sorts as well. With all this recognized, what is the importance of metaphorical expressions referencing to a threat as being present in time? If the threat exists now, precisely now, it is more threatening and the options available to deal with the threat are fewer. To combine the presence of threat in time with its presence in space, making the threat "here and now," the magnitude of the threat seems to almost correlate with the lack of options available to deal with it. Such a daunting situation presented by a government to its people allows for the government to proffer a solution of its own with greater authority.

In specific regards to the situation of the beginning of the Cold War during Truman's presidency, the reference to "the threat" as being present in time and space allowed Truman to incite urgency and to make a connection between the other side of the world and the American Heartland to gain support for the policies that would shape the next half century. Suddenly, the North Korean Communists were effectively going to march through South Korea and into our towns, burning down our schools and municipal buildings; and the Chinese and Soviets would be filing in behind them to cement control.²⁶

²⁶ Truman. "Radio and Television Report to the American People on the National Emergency." 1950. While Truman does not say that the North Koreans will be the ones to march into our towns and start laying them to waste, he mentions several "American" institutions, such as schools and churches which will be lost to us if Communism wins. Taken with parts of other speeches, like "Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East" from 1951 where Truman makes the outright connection between all the forces of Communism leading back to the Kremlin, the message being made is that Stalin himself will be strolling down "Main Street, USA" unless the Communists are stopped in Korea.

Eisenhower stressed this “presence of threat” quite rarely in comparison to Truman. In all, there are less than half as many metaphorical expressions fitting this conceptual metaphor. This in no way means that Eisenhower believed that there was less of a threat during his administration than during Truman’s administration. A look at the metaphorical expressions reveals that, rather than there being less of a threat, the existence of the threat was being recognized as a continuous part of life.

Instead of the metaphorical expressions from Truman, such as “The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened,”²⁷ and the constant reference to “now” made throughout his speeches here analyzed; Eisenhower refers to “continuing challenge,”²⁸ and the Communists’ continuous threats to the world “follow[ing] one another like beads on a string.”²⁹ These metaphorical expressions from Eisenhower are not of an especially new threat, but they are of a present threat. The only exception to this is Eisenhower’s description of the immediate need for the US to aid the Middle-East,³⁰ thus outlining his doctrine much the same way Truman used Greece and Turkey to outline his.³¹

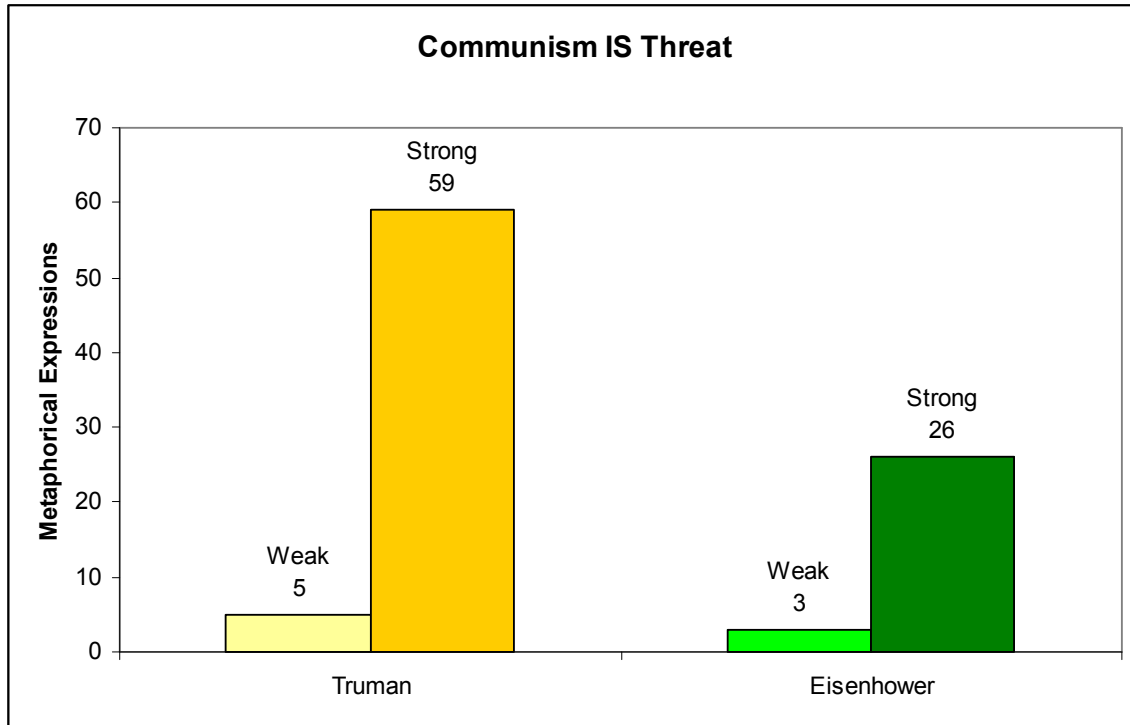
²⁷ Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

²⁸ Eisenhower. “Inaugural Address.” 1953.

²⁹ Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People: Security in the Free World.” 1959.

³⁰ Eisenhower. “Eisenhower Doctrine.” 1957.

³¹ Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.



COMMUNISTS IS OFFENDERS

The metaphorical expressions falling under the conceptual metaphor COMMUNISTS IS OFFENDERS occur with somewhat irregular frequency among both presidents. In regards to Truman, there are only sparse occurrences of such metaphorical expressions in the speech requesting aid to Greece and Turkey and the establishment of the Truman Doctrine. These few metaphorical expressions are some of the strongest, however, with examples such as, “The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists,”³² and:

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will ... in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments ...

³² Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.³³

In a few lines from this one speech, the Communists are at once made out to be terrorists, conquerors, and terroristic despots, all of which are offensive in nature.

A particularly interesting point about the occurrences of the metaphorical expressions under COMMUNISTS IS OFFENDERS is that, in Truman's speech commemorating the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, no offensive metaphorical expressions concerning Communism are made. During the speech outlining the need for a common defense alliance, the antagonist creating this need is not named. There are only references to the need to protect economic and physical well being against any threat.

A final point of interest, though perhaps more understandable, is that close to half of Truman's metaphorical expression occurrences under this conceptual metaphor are found in his 1951 speech about the continuing war in Korea and the relieving of MacArthur. This is more understandable because here, after the war has been going on for close to a year without clear successes attributable to the United Nations' forces, Truman was trying to "remind [the American people]"³⁴ why it was "right"³⁵ for the US to go to the aid of South Korea as well as to remain there. In this speech, Truman paints the Communists as "aggressors ... engaged in a monstrous conspiracy to stamp out freedom ... [led by] cruel and selfish rulers ... bent on conquest."³⁶ In this speech, Truman returns to the themes of despotism and oppression, but he adds in the strong prospect of a third world war, of course instigated by the Communists. He states that, "we have been working with other free nations to check the aggressive designs of the Soviet Union before they can result in a third world war."³⁷ It is a theme he returns to several times.

³³ Truman. "Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine." 1947.

³⁴ Truman. "Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East." 1951.

³⁵ Truman. "Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East." 1951.

³⁶ Truman. "Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East." 1951.

³⁷ Truman. "Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East." 1951.

Eisenhower follows a similar pattern of stressing the offensiveness of the Communists in only a few of the speeches in the universe of discourse. Two thirds of the instances of metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor occur in only two of the speeches, the Eisenhower Doctrine, and Security in the Free World. There are only two metaphorical expressions in his announcement of the Korean armistice, and both of those are referencing the past or finished aggression attached to that war.³⁸ There are no mentions at all in Atoms for Peace.

The unusual concentration of metaphorical expressions in Eisenhower's speeches may be explained along similar lines as those of the unusual concentration found in Truman's speeches. Whereas there is an almost constant reference to the Communists as being offenders, the increase in frequency occurs when the point needs to be stressed most. While it may be enough to refer to the Communists generally as the almost demonic torturers of truth over half-a-dozen metaphorical expressions in the "Inaugural Address of 1953,"³⁹ it is much more important to stress this point through the quintupling of those metaphorical expressions in a speech dedicated to world security. Only in the Atoms for Peace speech, when Eisenhower was looking to engage the USSR to combat nuclear armaments, is there no token reference to the offensive nature of the Communists.⁴⁰

The nature of the metaphorical expressions used by Eisenhower is also slightly altered. Though Eisenhower keeps with Truman's stressing of "Communist aggression," Eisenhower adds almost as frequently "Communist domination." This is very important, because "aggression" is the *attempt*, successful or not. The notion of "domination," however, is the *success* of that attempt. "Domination" is used in terms of a goal, such as, "Considering [Russia's] announced purpose of Communizing the world, it is easy to understand her hope of dominating the Middle East."⁴¹ It is, however, also used as a description of current situations, for example "we have just seen the subjugation of

³⁸ Eisenhower. "Radio and Television Address to the American People Announcing the Signing of the Korean Armistice." 1953.

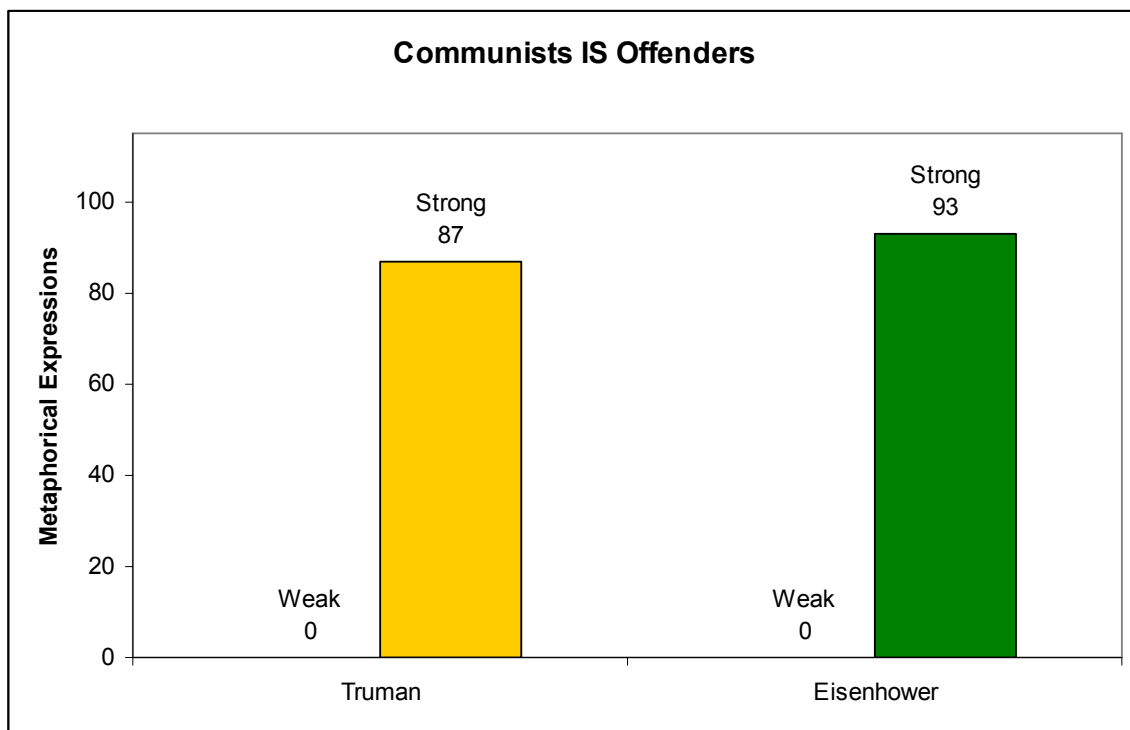
³⁹ Eisenhower. "Inaugural Address." 1953.

⁴⁰ Eisenhower. "Atoms for Peace." 1953.

⁴¹ Eisenhower. "Eisenhower Doctrine." 1957.

Hungary by naked armed force.”⁴² At times, also, the goal and reality intermingle, such as in Berlin:

It is by no means clear what West Berlin would be free from, except perhaps from freedom itself. It would not be free from the ever present danger of Communist domination. No one, certainly not the two million West Berliners, can ignore the cold fact that Berlin is surrounded by many divisions of Soviet and Eastern German troops and by territory governed by authorities dedicated to eliminating freedom from the area.⁴³



NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM

The most common metaphorical expression used in describing this conceptual metaphor was the various adaptations of “free nation.” The “free nations” were, by definition of usage, all nations not ruled under Communist systems. A less frequently occurring, though greatly telling, metaphorical expression subsumed under this conceptual metaphor is that of “slavery versus freedom,” where the Communist leaders

⁴² Eisenhower. “Eisenhower Doctrine.” 1957.

⁴³ Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People: Security in the Free World.” 1959.

are the slave-drivers and their citizens the slaves. The implications of such a metaphor are that there exist no authoritarian regimes, no subjugated peoples, and no tyranny over a nation outside of the Communist system. While blatantly false, it is also as blatantly helpful in encouraging a falsely dichotomous system trying to circumvent the moral vagaries of the Cold War.

While both Truman and Eisenhower stress the point of only non-Communist nations being free, they utilize their metaphorical expressions from two different directions. Truman stresses the prevention of non-Communist states from becoming Communist. Eisenhower, while maintaining this line, also stresses the changing of the Communist states into non-Communist states. This is very important.

Truman declared that, “[American] assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation,”⁴⁴ and not be overrun by the Communists. He said the same was true for Turkey⁴⁵ and South Korea⁴⁶ to survive as free nations as well. Eisenhower, however, speaks also to the possibility of post-Communist governments in Central and Eastern Europe. He says:

The United States has made clear its readiness to assist economically the new and independent governments of these countries. We have already--some days since--been in contact with the new Government of Poland on this matter. We have also publicly declared that we do not demand of these governments their adoption of any particular form of society as a condition upon our economic assistance. Our one concern is that they be free--for their sake, and for freedom's sake ... We see these peoples as friends, and we wish simply that they be friends who are free.⁴⁷

Here, Eisenhower states that once “these countries”(Hungary, Poland, and Rumania⁴⁸) are independent, no matter what “form of society” they develop, as long as it is not

⁴⁴ Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

⁴⁵ Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

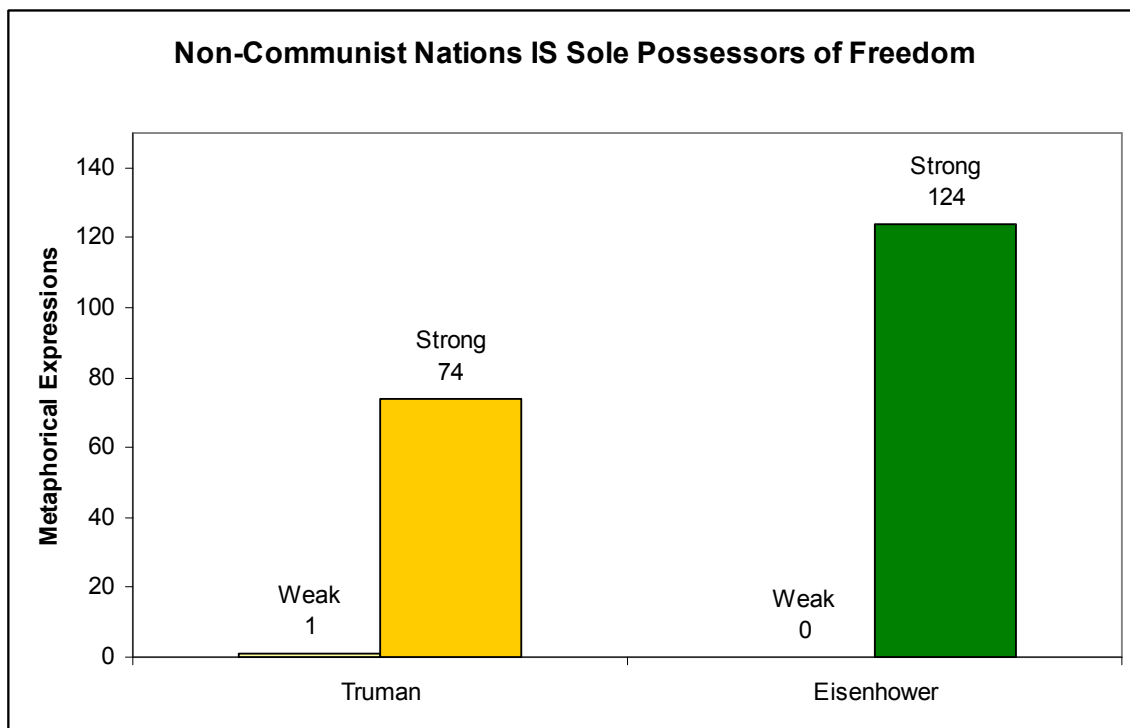
⁴⁶ Truman. “Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Situation in Korea.” 1950.

⁴⁷ Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East.” 1956.

⁴⁸ Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East.” 1956.

Communist, they will be free. Once they are not Communist, and once they are “free,” no matter what form of society they adopt, they will be our friends.

Both notions of non-Communist statehood lead to the possible development of the US befriending and even protecting despots and dictators provided they are not Communist. Only Eisenhower’s conception of a post-Communist state, however, allows for the *creation*, and not mere toleration, of such societies with the announced support and pleasure of the United States.



COMMUNISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY

One of the most striking aspects about this conceptual metaphor is its complete lack of existence in the universe of discourse before the onset of the Korean conflict. Even in regards to the discussion of common defense and efforts against aggression in the NATO signing, there is no mention referencing all of Communism as being united and with the Kremlin in lead of it.

The strongest metaphorical expressions come during the speech “Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East” when Truman states “Behind the North Koreans and Chinese Communists in the front lines stand additional

millions of Chinese soldiers. And behind the Chinese stand the tanks, the planes, the submarines, the soldiers, and the scheming rulers of the Soviet Union.”⁴⁹ This statement, more than any other, lays out the relationship of Communism as understood by the United States at the beginning of the Cold War. It connects the North Korean Communists to the Soviet Union, and implies that all orders and actions in the “Communist world” originate there. Just as directly, it states that all “hot” conflicts with Communism may wind there way back to a “hot” conflict with the Soviet Union.

Another metaphorical expression outlining this relationship occurs earlier on in the same speech, when Truman states, “They want to control all Asia from the Kremlin.”⁵⁰ This statement makes clear who is believed to be in control and who is believed to be subservient. The Soviet Union, and specifically the Kremlin, is in charge of Communism and Communist actions. Their intentions are to “control all Asia.”⁵¹ Their means of control is the spread of Communism. This particular metaphorical expression also ties back into the conceptual metaphor of NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM, as any nation that is Communist is thereby controlled from the Kremlin, whether or not the individual’s personal freedom is limited, endangered, or destroyed.

While Eisenhower does not outline a direct chain of command the way Truman had before him, he does refer to the governments of Eastern Europe as the handpicked “servants of Moscow.”⁵² Eisenhower more commonly refers to the efforts of “International Communism.” He speaks of “International Communism need[ing] and seek[ing] a recognizable success,” and that this is why they are a threat to the Middle East.⁵³ In reference to Berlin, Eisenhower says that the city “has come to symbolize, also, the efforts of Imperialistic Communism to divide the (free world) to throw us off

⁴⁹ Truman. “Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East.” 1951.

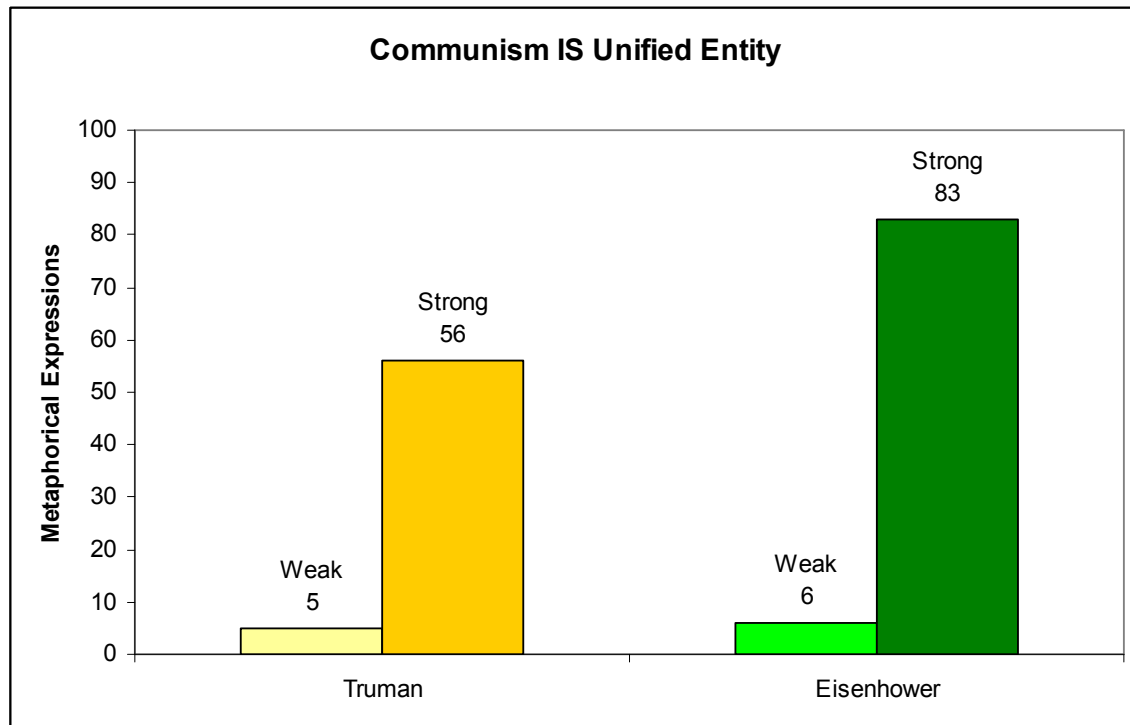
⁵⁰ Truman. “Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East.” 1951.

⁵¹ Truman. “Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East.” 1951.

⁵² Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East.” 1956.

⁵³ Eisenhower. “Eisenhower Doctrine.” 1957.

balance, and to weaken our will for making certain of our collective security.”⁵⁴ Though not providing the infrastructure of the unified entity, Eisenhower does give it a name.



ECONOMICS IS DETERMINATOR OF POLITICS

Over half of the occurrences of metaphorical expressions subsumed under this conceptual metaphor for Truman occur in the speech outlining the Truman Doctrine. This makes sense as the context of the speech was Truman’s request for financial and material aid to be given to Greece and Turkey, so as to protect them from the “Communist terrorists.”⁵⁵ The strongest metaphorical expressions are similarly involved with this speech. They stress that poor nations are at greatest risk of being overtaken by Communist forces. Speaking of the situation of the Communist actions in Greece specifically, Truman states, “As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.”⁵⁶ Speaking of the general relationship between a nation’s economic and political states, Truman concludes, “The seeds of

⁵⁴ Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People: Security in the Free World.” 1959.

⁵⁵ Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

⁵⁶ Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife.”⁵⁷ The implication being, especially in the context of the speech, that a wealthy state (or a state made wealthy or aided and repaired by another state such as the US) will not succumb to a totalitarian regime (i.e. Communism), and thus remain free.

Several metaphorical expressions supporting this concept occur in Truman’s speech commemorating the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty. At the beginning of the speech, Truman states:

It is altogether appropriate that nations so deeply conscious of their common interests should join in expressing their determination to preserve their present peaceful situation and to protect it in the future.

What we are about to do here is a neighborly act. We are like a group of householders, living in the same locality, who decide to express their community of interests by entering into a formal association for their mutual self-protection.⁵⁸

Truman here refers to the ally nations as being nations “deeply conscious of their common interests,” and being “like a group of householders, living in the same locality ... express[ing] their community of interests.” The metaphor of the householders in the same locality is particularly telling. Householders, especially around the time of the speech, generally have similar social and economic standing. Such a community creates associations for self-protection to ensure their bodily safety as well as the safety of their property.

Truman continues later on in the speech to state:

The nations represented here are bound together by ties of long standing. We are joined by a common heritage of democracy, individual liberty, and rule of law. These are the ties of a peaceful way of life. In this pact we are merely giving them formal recognition.

⁵⁷ Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

⁵⁸ Truman. “Address on the Occasion of the Signing of the North Atlantic Treaty.” 1949.

With our common traditions we face common problems. We are, to a large degree, industrial nations, and we face the problem of mastering the forces of modern technology in the public interest.

To meet this problem successfully, we must have a world in which we can exchange the products of our labor not only among ourselves, but with other nations. We have come together in a great cooperative economic effort to establish this kind of world.

We are determined to work together to provide better lives for our people without sacrificing our common ideals of justice and human worth.

But we cannot succeed if our people are haunted by the constant fear of aggression, and burdened by the cost of preparing their nations individually against attack.⁵⁹

Again, Truman discusses the commonalities of the allies, their “ties of long standing” and “common traditions.” From this beginning of discussing common values, Truman moves on to discuss their economic standing, and finally their desire for security. Economics and security are again linked, though in a different way. Here, the economic systems themselves seem to be attached to the “Western” political ideals, both of which are under threat from Communism. While poor countries are under threat from being taken over ideologically and politically by international Communism, capitalist countries are under threat from having their economic and political systems outright attacked by Communist forces due to competing ideology.

Eisenhower maintains Truman’s messages of the need for aid and the unifying effect of trade in the capitalist tradition. Though there are about as many occurrences of metaphorical expressions coming from Eisenhower as there were from Truman, there is no one single massive compilation of them as there was for Truman in his request for aid for Greece and Turkey. Instead, they are scattered throughout his speeches with varying degrees of frequency.

Eisenhower, from the very beginning, agreed to the principle that sparked Truman’s request of aid for Greece and Turkey, not to mention the Marshall Plan; that being that economically sound and prospering states would be less likely to turn

⁵⁹ Truman. “Address on the Occasion of the Signing of the North Atlantic Treaty.” 1949.

Communist, and thus be a threat to world peace. In his Inaugural Address, Eisenhower stressed this point saying that “the impoverishment of any single people in the world means danger to the well-being of all other peoples.”⁶⁰

Eisenhower also, however, made strong ties between collective security and economic well being. Part of his argument for collective security was that it placed less burden on individual economies. Eisenhower states in his speech on Security in the Free World that, “Our mutual security program help[s] to equip our partners with the weapons they cannot by themselves provide ... helping them keep their economies strong.”⁶¹ Here, collective security takes on a new level of defense. Not only are there alliances providing more soldiers and promises of aid in case of attack, but not needing to spend so much money on one’s own to ensure national security means that the economies are less likely to be over stressed, and thus help combat Communist appeal.

There is one more vital point regarding national economies which Eisenhower stresses. Eisenhower directly states that the US is not alone in trying to gain allies through aid. Truman made hints to this when he said, “No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.”⁶² No other nation is *willing* to support a *democratic* Greece. There is, however, one which is willing to support a Communist Greece, and that is the USSR. Truman never directly said this, though, and Eisenhower did.

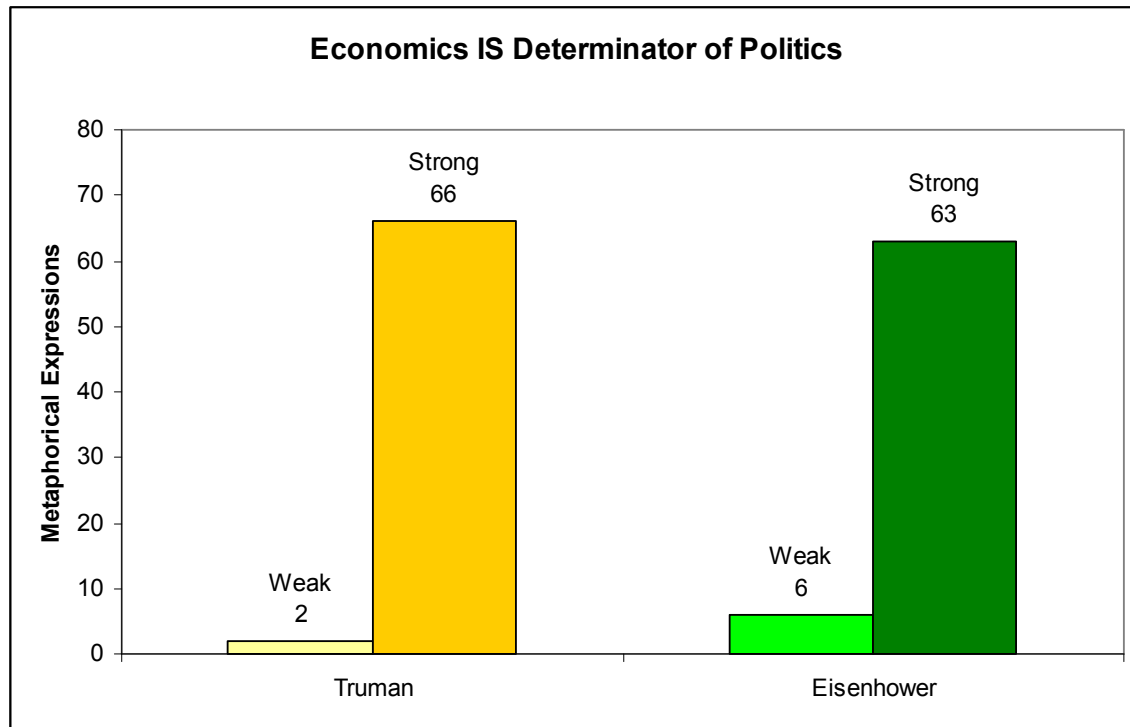
In Eisenhower’s speech establishing his doctrine, he says, “International Communism, of course, seeks to mask its purposes of domination by expressions of good will and by superficially attractive offers of political, economic and military aid.”⁶³ Eisenhower recognizes that the Communists are also trying to win over allies, but instead of using aid as a tool for defense, the Communists are using it as a means to conquer.

⁶⁰ Eisenhower. “Inaugural Address.” 1953.

⁶¹ Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People: Security in the Free World.” 1959.

⁶² Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

⁶³ Eisenhower. “Eisenhower Doctrine.” 1957.



COMMUNISM IS IMPOSED SYSTEM

Considering the high frequency of metaphorical expressions describing the Communists as offenders, conquerors, and terrorists; and the especially high relative frequency of metaphorical expressions describing only non-Communist nations as being free, there are relatively few occurrences of metaphorical expressions describing Communism as an imposed system in Truman's speeches. They are split, roughly in half, between Truman's speech requesting aid for Greece and Turkey and the speech about the continuing war in Korea given in 1951. Again, there are no mentions during the speech commemorating the North Atlantic Treaty signing. The metaphorical expressions which do occur are almost all subsumed under other conceptual metaphors as well. The most common metaphorical expressions concern forms of "conquest," "imposition," and "aggression" attached to non-Communist governments conveying consequences. For example:

We shall not realize our objectives [to make lasting freedom and independence possible], however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free

institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes.⁶⁴

In this one sentence discussing the United States' obligation to help Greece and Turkey, Truman declares Communism to be both aggressive and imposed, as well as despotic.

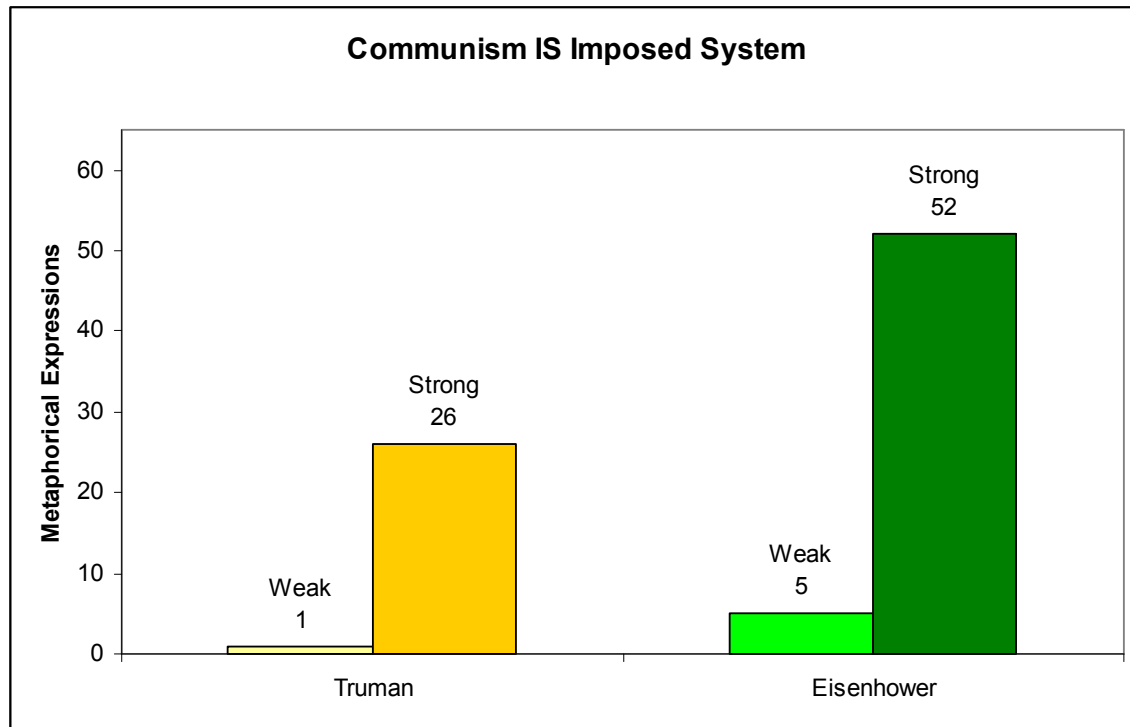
Similarly as with ECONOMICS IS DETERMINATOR OF POLITICS, Eisenhower does not have a speech with a clearly defined concentration of metaphorical expressions. There are no mentions in his Inaugural of 1953, and roughly 10 mentions in the other speeches. The metaphorical expressions mentioned do not speak merely to Communism as imposed, however. Rather, they speak to the imposition as a means towards domination.

Eisenhower uses variations of the term “domination” four times more than forms of “imposition” in the universe of discourse. In one key statement of this “imposition as means towards domination,” Eisenhower says, “After World War II, the Soviet Union used military force to impose on the nations of Eastern Europe, governments of Soviet choice—servants of Moscow.”⁶⁵ This statement speaks also to the conceptual metaphors COMMUNISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY and NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS IS POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM. Communism is imposed by the USSR so as to increase its area of domination, the very exercise of which prevents the existence of freedom in the subjugated countries. In a later speech, Eisenhower went on to describe the Eastern European countries in this relationship as “puppet regime[s]” of the Soviets.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Truman. “Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine.” 1947.

⁶⁵ Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East.” 1956.

⁶⁶ Eisenhower. “Radio and Television Report to the American People: Security in the Free World.” 1959.



COMMUNISM IS EVIL

This conceptual metaphor possesses the least occurrences of metaphorical expressions of any in this analysis. Most of the occurrences in Truman's speeches are references to expressions of evil, such as forms of terrorism,⁶⁷ "slavery,"⁶⁸ "monstrous,"⁶⁹ and the desire to bring about a third world war,⁷⁰ rather than clear statements using the term "evil." In two notable instances, Truman does use the term "evil" itself. In the first instance, he refers to totalitarian regimes (Communism) growing in "the evil soil of poverty and strife."⁷¹ Though Truman is referring to social problems as evil and not Communism directly, it is suggested that "evil soil" begets evil fruit. The second instance is a direct declaration that the Communists are evil. In speaking on "the National Emergency," Truman states, "Appeasement of evil is not the road to peace."⁷² Here, "evil" is placed in the position where "the Communists" or "Communism" would be placed. For them to be interchangeable is to suggest they are one-in-the-same.

⁶⁷ Truman. "Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine." 1947.

⁶⁸ Truman. "Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Situation in Korea." 1950.

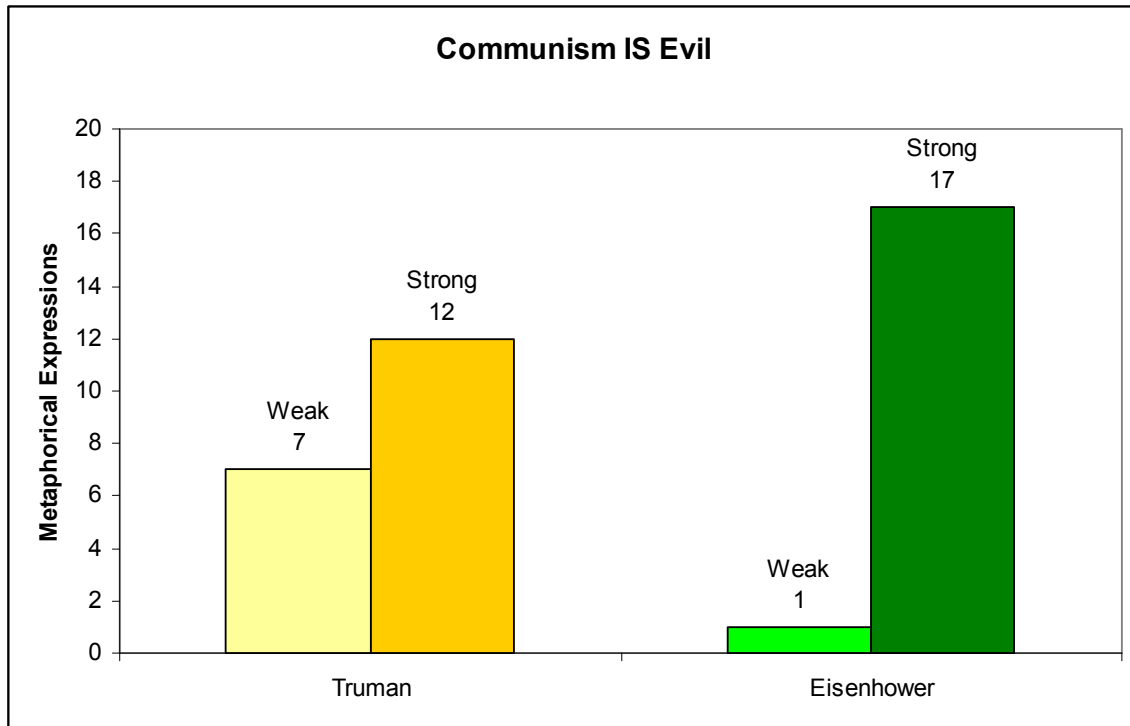
⁶⁹ Truman. "Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East." 1951.

⁷⁰ Truman. "Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East." 1951.

⁷¹ Truman. "Special Message to Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine." 1947.

⁷² Truman. "Radio and Television Report to the American People on the National Emergency." 1950.

Eisenhower provides approximately as many metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor, but more of these metaphorical expressions are direct statements to the evil of Communism. Eisenhower uses, especially in his inaugural address, metaphors stressing the “darkness” and even demonic nature of Communism.⁷³ Communists are the “dark” slavers, the anti-faith to all that is good, the massed and armed force of evil, threatening the world.⁷⁴



COMMUNISM IS PERVERSION

COMMUNISM IS PERVERSION is the conceptual metaphor which speaks most directly to the difference of identity between “Us” and “Them.” COMMUNISM IS EVIL has neither enough metaphorical expressions, nor strength of conviction in those metaphorical expressions, to stress this difference more than COMMUNISM IS PERVERSION. Neither do the preceding conceptual metaphors concerned with freedom and offensiveness.

⁷³ Eisenhower. “Inaugural Address.” 1953.

⁷⁴ Eisenhower. “Inaugural Address.” 1953.

The concept of perversion is such that, this entity Communism, either through error, defect, or, worse, willfully, sees and determinedly acts towards the opposite of what “We” see and act towards, often illogically. While “We” desire and work towards peace, the Communists threaten and seemingly desire a third world war.⁷⁵ While “We” are grounded in a national faith loving freedom and truth and devotion, “They” profess an anti-faith of the persecution of truth and devotion to force.⁷⁶ And, while “We” are free to work towards peace, prosperity, and communion with the world, should we so choose, “They” have forfeited their will to the despotic engine of history.⁷⁷

The clearest and most direct example of this concept of perversion is exemplified by Truman when he speaks about “Communist double-talk.”⁷⁸ When referring to an intelligence report on a speech given by a Communist officer in North Korea just before the invasion of South Korea, Truman stresses that the two instances of “liberation” used by the officer “in ‘commie’ language means conquest.”⁷⁹ Not only is there a difference in language and in the meaning of words between “Us” and “Them,” but the different meanings are antithetical to each other. It is truly perverse when “conquest” is the meaning of “liberation.”

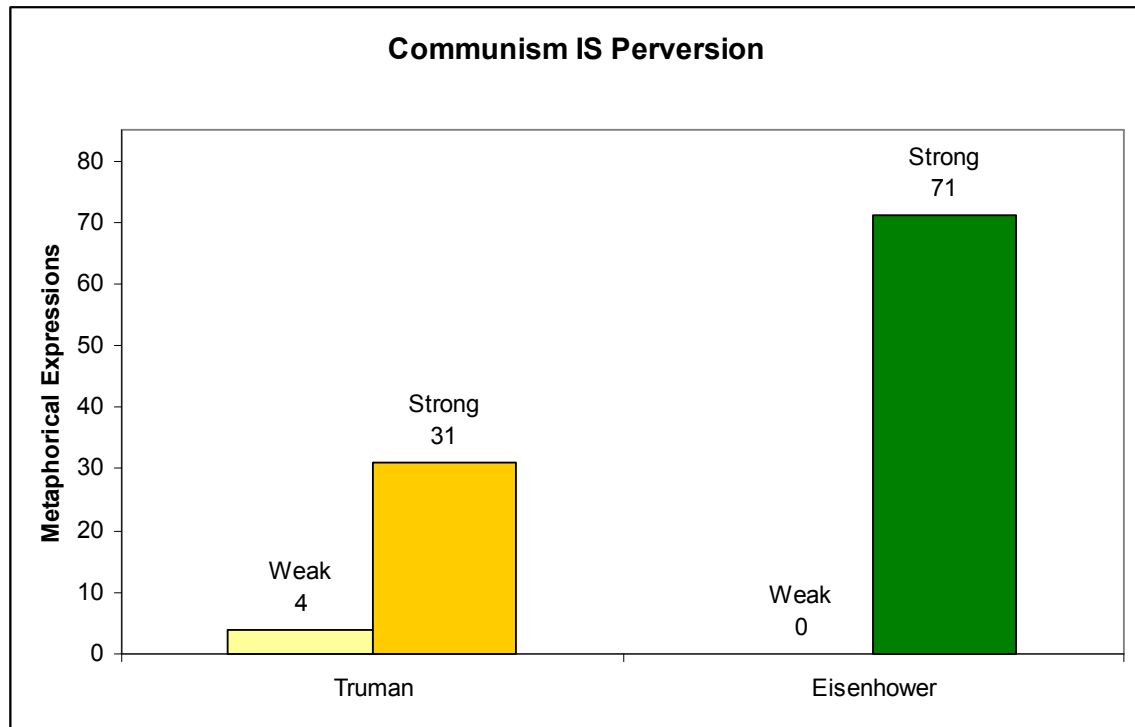
⁷⁵ Truman. “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the National Emergency.” 1950.; Truman. “Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East.” 1951.

⁷⁶ Eisenhower. “Inaugural Address.” 1953.

⁷⁷ Truman. “Address on the Occasion of the Signing of the North Atlantic Treaty.” 1949.; Eisenhower. “Inaugural Address.” 1953.

⁷⁸ Truman. “Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East.” 1951.

⁷⁹ Truman. “Radio Report to the American People on Korea and on U.S. Policy in the Far East.” 1951.



V. The End of the Cold War: Reagan and G.H.W. Bush

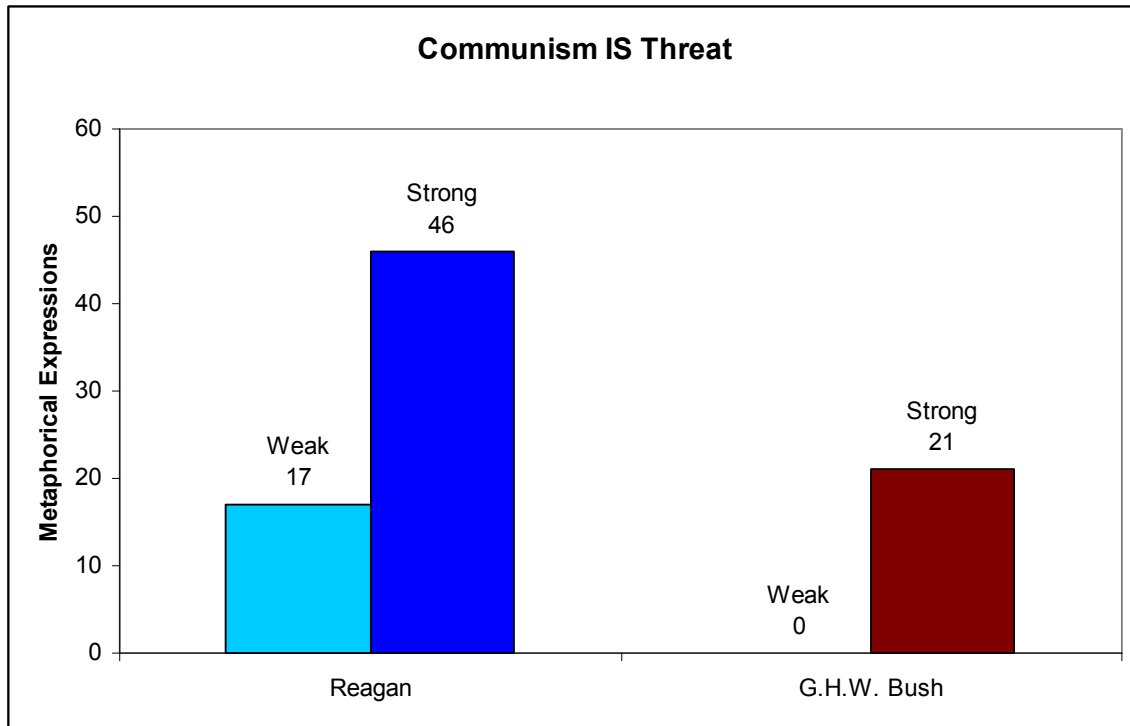
COMMUNISM IS THREAT

At the beginning of the Cold War, as is probably to be expected, the metaphorical expressions for this conceptual metaphor revolved around the “newness” of the present threat. The events being described as “present” had not been experienced before. In the case of Truman, this was true especially. Truman’s rhetoric spoke to a new world system of competitive ideologies that developed into the Cold War system. Eisenhower spoke to the “continuance” of the threats that Truman did, but there was a subtle alteration to the theme. Instead of the threat being merely “present,” the threat could be countered and possibly reversed. Truman’s speeches all point to trying to stop the advancement of the Communist threat and holding it at bay. Eisenhower’s speeches reflect on the possibility of altering the balance and “reclaiming” countries held by Communism. There was a sense that in his rhetoric that this threat was indeed present, but not permanent.

This is a tremendous difference from Reagan’s rhetoric thirty years later. The threat is present in time and space, not only because of new or continuing communist advancements on the ground (the Soviet war in Afghanistan and events in the Third World are mentioned sparsely and in passing), but also in large part because of bureaucratic budgeting and technological advancements. Like the Soviet Unions lapse from revolution into complacency and bureaucratic trappings, the threat from them and conflict with them became more of a recognized and unalterable reality. Regan continued on the theme of “continuance” of the present threat initiated by Eisenhower, but thirty years of “continuance” had both implicitly and explicitly turned into “permanence.”

This change in understanding from “continuance” to “permanence” caused problems when, during G.H.W. Bush’s term, the Soviet Union and European Communism dissolved, and with it the threats and very existence of the Cold War. Within weeks and months, and in some cases overnight, an entire section of reality created by decades of rhetoric vanished, and a void was left in its place. Most of Bush’s

metaphorical expressions falling under this conceptual metaphor are placed in the past tense. Those which are in the present tense are attached to ambiguous concepts, such as, “Only the dead have seen the end of conflict.”⁸⁰ *The threat* that had faced him, the nation, and all the presidents for the last forty years had vanished, yet the mentality fostered during that time, expressed through rhetoric, of the omnipresent threat still remained, even past the point of identification.



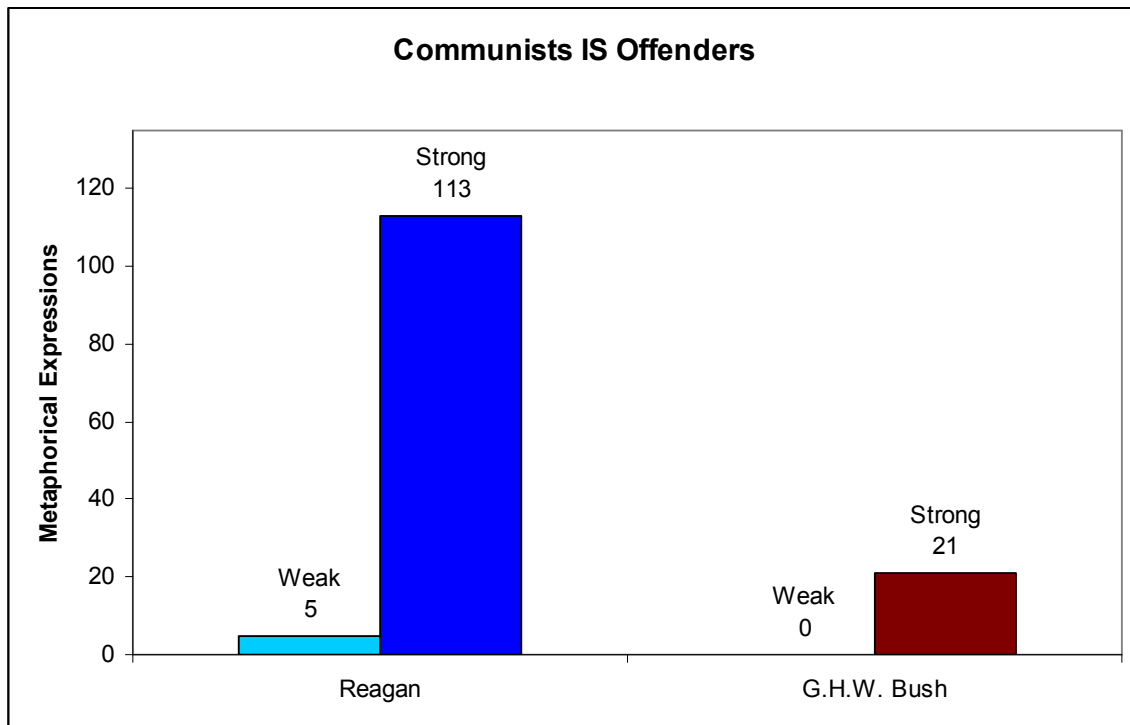
COMMUNISTS IS OFFENDERS

Reagan has more metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor than either Truman or Eisenhower, which is again odd considering the differences in behavior between the Soviet Union of the 40's and 50's and the Soviet Union of the 80's. One interesting additional metaphorical expression that Reagan uses is that of barbarism and civilization. In several instances, he declares that Communism is not only a danger to freedom, but to civilization itself. And likewise, that the Communist leaders are not only terrorists and despots, but also barbarians out to destroy all the advancements of the last several centuries. They are the offenders to be sure, just as they were during the Truman

⁸⁰ G.H.W. Bush. “Address before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union.” 1992.

and Eisenhower administrations, but instead of simply being the offenders in a conflict, or offenders to the “free world,” by being offenders to everything in civilization they are offenders to the fabric of our reality, to their very own roots in political advancement, and to Western history.

Bush, again and expectedly, has a difficult time with the Communists as being anything. His metaphorical expressions are almost all based in the past tense. Those that are in the present tense have made a slight-of-hand change from “Communism” to “Soviet leaders,” especially the old guard during the coup against Gorbachev. All of the previous administrations discussed in this discourse had sought to various lengths to separate the “Soviet people” from the “Soviet (Communist) leaders.” Reagan once famously included an example of an Ivan and Anya discussing their children with a Jim and Sally instead of politico-economic systems.⁸¹ Bush’s metaphorical expressions, however, both in content and context, seem to be the sputterings of a confused and waning tradition of enemy-identification after the enemy has disappeared.



⁸¹ Reagan. “Address to the Nation and Other Countries on United States-Soviet Relations.” 1984.

NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM

Both of the administrations provided by far the most of their metaphorical expressions for this conceptual metaphor. They did not match Eisenhower in his usage, though they did far surpass Truman. This is, perhaps, because of the compound nature of this conceptual metaphor. Both metaphorical expressions referring to the United States or its allies possessing freedom as well as metaphorical expressions referring to the absence of freedom among the Soviet Union and its allies reside in this conceptual metaphor. There are, however, two interesting and interrelated points contained in this conceptual metaphor found only in Reagan's and Bush's administrations. They deal with Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika.

In Reagan's speech at the Brandenburg Gate, he commented on these new policies of reform being put forward by Gorbachev. He noted that the Soviets may have been beginning to understand the importance of freedom and openness in society. He spoke warily, unsure of whether or not the reforms were genuine and would be carried through, but he spoke hopefully, saying that we "welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace."⁸² From the previous metaphorical expressions in this paper, and from the decades of experience of the Cold War, the meaning of this passage should be clear. A world that is "free" is "at peace" because Communism is absent in a free world, and the absence of Communism removes the threat and conflict at the heart of the Cold War, thereby ensuring peace. What is so interesting about this comment and its vein of thought is that, being granted historical hindsight, we see that this is exactly the case of what happened. "The advance of human liberty" into the Soviet Union helped bring about the downfall of the Communist regime, whether or not Gorbachev intended it to do so. That in turn ended the Cold War, bringing peace from *that* conflict to the world. If we follow the conceptual metaphor NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM literally, the logic also holds that nations possessing freedom cannot be Communist. Freedom was introduced into the Soviet Union, and Communism fell afterwards.

⁸² Reagan. "Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin." 1987.

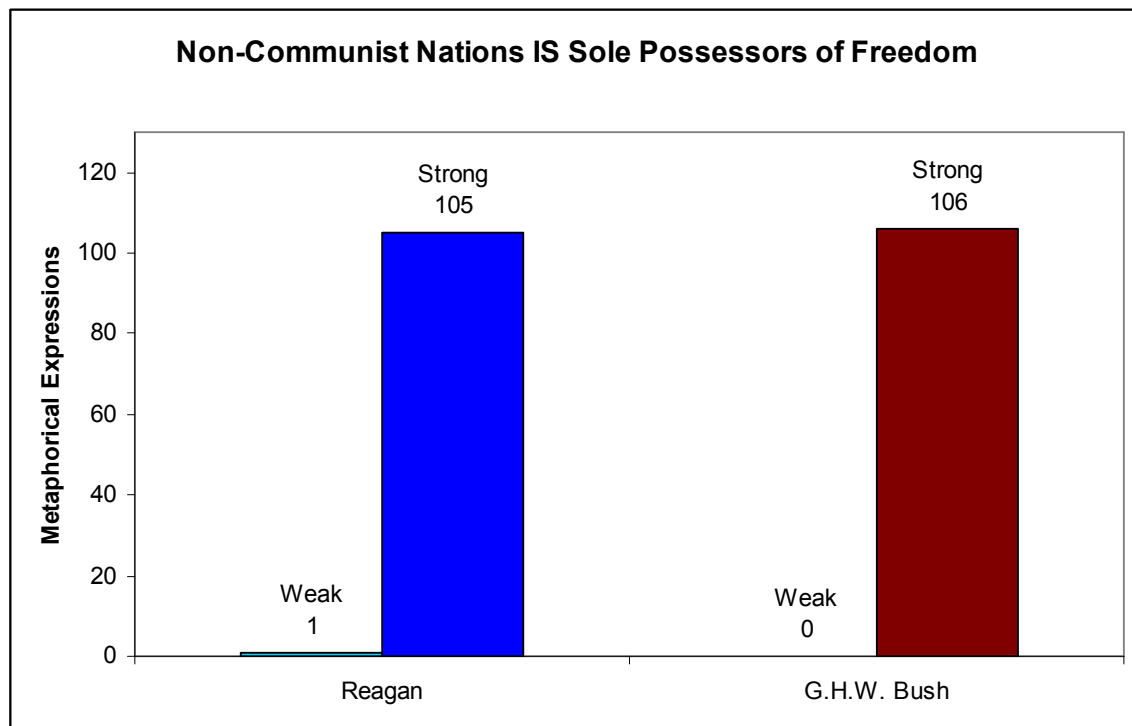
Relatedly, Bush's 1990 State of the Union utilizes this historical hindsight mentioned above, but from a much closer vantage point. He says:

A year ago in Poland, Lech Walesa declared that he was ready to open a dialog with the Communist rulers of that country; and today, with the future of a free Poland in their own hands, members of Solidarity lead the Polish Government.

A year ago, freedom's playwright, Vaclav Havel, languished as a prisoner in Prague. And today it's Vaclav Havel, President of Czechoslovakia...

Remarkable events -- events that fulfill the long-held hopes of the American people; events that validate the longstanding goals of American policy, a policy based on a single, shining principle: the cause of freedom.⁸³

These "longstanding goals of American policy" were concerned with spreading freedom. As mentioned above, once freedom was introduced, even within only a year, Communism fell.



⁸³ Bush. "Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the State of the Union." 1990.

COMMUNISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY

There is no dramatic change in the frequency of metaphorical expressions between the first two administrations discussed above and Reagan. There is, however, an important point related to another conceptual metaphor which stands out under this heading. That is the separation of Communist leaders from the people they rule discussed in COMMUNISTS IS OFFENDERS.

As mentioned above, the various administrations made a point at times to separate the Communist leaders from the people they ruled over when allotting crimes and sins to Communism. The people were, according to the relative situation, occupied, tricked, or in some other way forced or taken advantage of by the Communist (and thereby Soviet) leaders.

Reagan's use of such metaphorical expressions is slightly different, in that the temporal context in which they were made is so very different from the previous administrations in this selection. He is not talking about the Greeks, South Koreans, or Hungarians being threatened, overrun, or put down by Communism. Reagan's separation of the people from their leaders comes decades after this dominant relationship is already established. Yet he still stresses that the people are different from their leaders, and what's more, just as the Communist leaders are one unified entity, so in a way are all the peoples subjected to those leaders.

Reagan characterized this most aptly in discussing the situation in Poland in his 1981 Christmas message. He of course spoke of the link between the Soviet leaders and the Polish leaders, saying, "It is no coincidence that Soviet Marshal Kulikov ... and other senior Red Army officers were in Poland while these outrages were being initiated. And it is no coincidence that the martial law proclamations imposed in December by the Polish Government were being printed in the Soviet Union in September."⁸⁴ Reagan, however, also speaks of the separation of the people from their leaders. He refers to the Polish people as having been "betrayed by their own government,"⁸⁵ and that the Polish

⁸⁴ Reagan. "About Christmas and the Situation in Poland." 1981.

⁸⁵ Reagan. "About Christmas and the Situation in Poland." 1981.

government's persecution of Solidarity in effect "wages war against [the Polish] people."⁸⁶

Bush, again, has considerably fewer metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor than Reagan or the other administrations discussed here. Likewise, many of his references are in the past tense. In spite of this, Bush presents two of the most compelling metaphorical expressions subsumed under COMMUNISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY.

In his 1991 address to the United Nations, Bush discusses what the end of the Cold War means. He mentions the end of Communism, and the resumption of history. Further along in the speech, Bush refers to Cuba and its leader. He says:

Some nations still deny their basic rights to the people. And too many voices cry out for freedom. For example, the people of Cuba suffer oppression at the hands of a dictator who hasn't gotten the word, the lone hold-out in an otherwise democratic hemisphere, a man who hasn't adapted to a world that has no use for totalitarian tyranny. Elsewhere, despots ignore the heartening fact that the rest of the world has embarked upon a new age of liberty.⁸⁷

What is most important in this statement is what is *not* said. Nowhere does Bush mention the fact that Cuba is still, at the very least nominally, Communist. As is North Korea and China. Bush's statement effectively means that with the end of Soviet-European Communism, all Communism has ended; and anything that remains nominally Communist is somehow something else. Communism is unified, with the Soviet Union at its head, and with the end of Communism in the Soviet Union, so Communism too must be finished throughout the world.

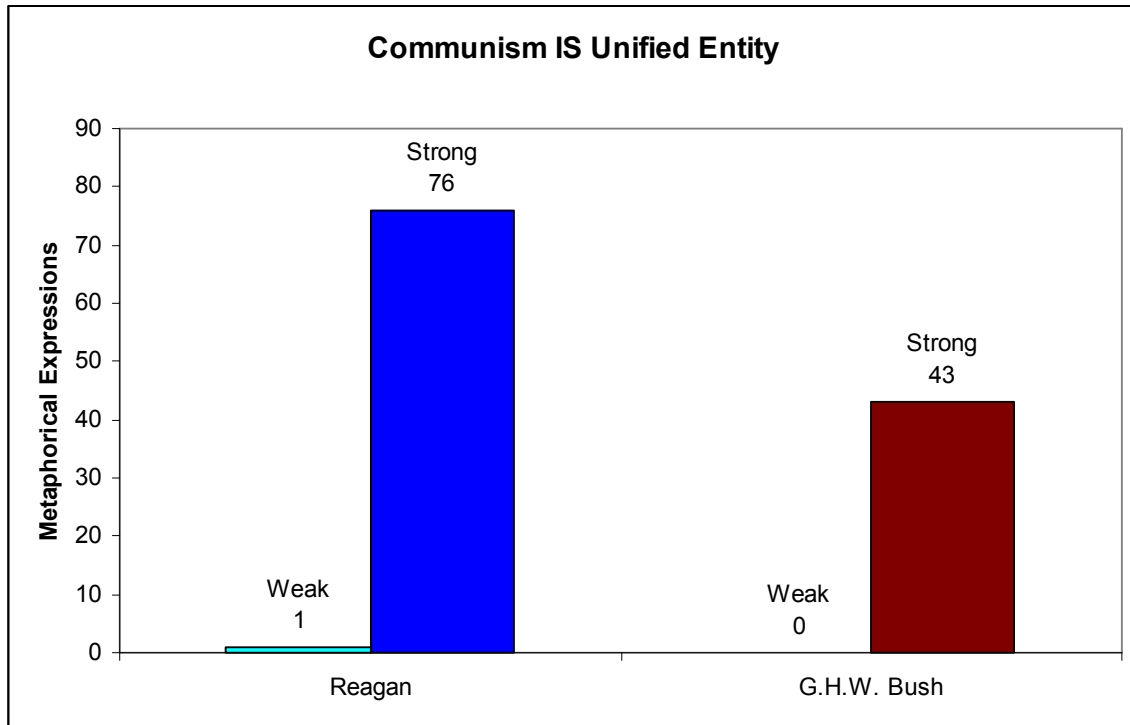
Similarly, in his 1992 State of the Union Address, Bush states that "communism died this year."⁸⁸ The Soviet Union dissolved and can be said to have died. The Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and Central Asia all dissolved similarly by the end of 1991. To say that Communism died, however, ignores the remaining regimes outside

⁸⁶ Reagan. "About Christmas and the Situation in Poland." 1981.

⁸⁷ Bush. "Address to the 46th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City." 1991.

⁸⁸ Bush. "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union." 1992.

of Europe and Central Asia which were mentioned above. These comments taken together, as clearly as Truman's description of the hierarchy of the enemy in Korea, clearly describe Communism as being one entity, unified, and lead by the Soviet Union; even to the point of ignoring reality.



ECONOMICS IS DETERMINATOR OF POLITICS

Reagan does not have significantly more metaphorical expressions under this heading than did Truman or Eisenhower. As has been demonstrated above, however, his metaphorical expressions take on a slightly different character due to the passage of time. One of these differences deals with the bureaucratization of the Cold War as mentioned earlier. The other deals with the Cold War nexus that is Berlin.

In addition to the various comments about how healthy economies bring about freedom and encourage peace, Reagan provides a pointed statement about the bureaucratization of the Cold War. In discussing the budget, he says that it “is much more than a long list of numbers, for behind all the numbers lies America’s ability to prevent the greatest of human tragedies and preserve our free way of life in a sometimes

dangerous world.”⁸⁹ Here, Reagan recognizes the bureaucratization of the struggle, of the transformation of economic ideals into fiscal management, and the dampening effect this has on some people. He stresses, however, the connection between the “numbers” and the ideals of the nation proposing them. Reagan reconnects the spirit of the US economy with the tedium of its finances, implying that to ignore the dull details is to open the way for the destruction of the entire politico-economic system, if not the physical existence, of the country.

At Reagan’s famous speech in front of the Brandenburg Gate, in addition to demanding that the Berlin Wall be torn down, he discusses the city itself as a metaphor in different ways for the Cold War. One of the conceptual metaphors he discusses was the connections between politics and economics. Rather than merely discuss the effects economics has on politics, as would have been the case decades earlier, Reagan looks at the second step of that relationship, which is the effects the subsequent political systems have had on the economies of the two Berlins. After listing the various economic miracles and accomplishments achieved by West Berlin in the previous four decades, he states:

In the 1950's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind-too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity.⁹⁰

With those final words, Reagan closes a circle which cannot truly be broken apart. The economic situation of the Berliners after World War II demanded political and economic action; the economic situation of the victors in each area determined the policy and political structure implemented; the policy and political structure determined the economic conditions of the two areas; and in the end of this unintended experiment, the

⁸⁹ Reagan. “Address to the Nation on Defense and National Security.” 1983.

⁹⁰ Reagan. “Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin.” 1987.

result seems to be indeed that prosperity leads to freedom, and “freedom leads to prosperity.”

Bush does not have many new or unique metaphorical expressions related to this conceptual metaphor. Along a similar vein to Truman at the signing of NATO, he says “Prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors, not as predators. Economic growth can aid international relations in exactly the same way.”⁹¹ As has been stated so often above, however, Bush did have a very different vantage point than any previous Cold War president. He could look back at the end of the Cold War.

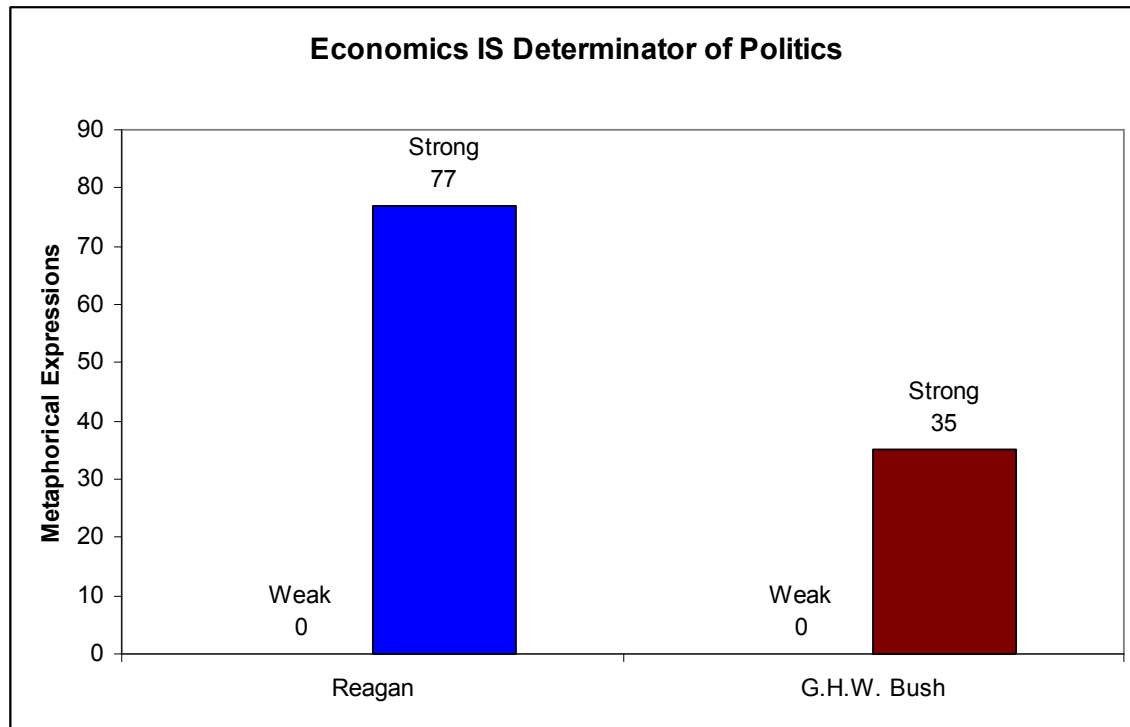
Speaking about the various changes going on in Europe at the end of the Cold War, Bush says of the still Soviet Union that “they face the daunting challenge of building fresh political structures, based on human rights, democratic principles, and market economics.”⁹² Not long afterwards, but after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, he remarks famously that “communism died this year.”⁹³ The first statement entails the second, and yet everyone seemed surprised when the entire politico-economic structure collapsed, unable to reform.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Bush. “Address to the 46th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City.” 1991.

⁹² Bush. “Address to the Nation on Reducing United States and Soviet Nuclear Weapons.” 1991.

⁹³ Bush. “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union.” 1992.

⁹⁴ Gaddis. *The Cold War*. 2007. 252-255.



COMMUNISM IS IMPOSED SYSTEM

Reagan provides about as many metaphorical expressions for this conceptual metaphor as does Eisenhower. He does not have any drastically new position than the previous two administrations discussed. Reagan states that the Soviet Union “disregards individual rights and the value of human life and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations.”⁹⁵ He similarly alludes to the dominance of the Soviet Union over other Communist nations by writing to Brezhnev “urging him to permit the restoration of basic human rights in Poland.”⁹⁶ Beyond imposition upon nations, Reagan also states that Communism “imposes upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state,”⁹⁷ for the very nature of Communism is to “declare [the state’s] omnipotence over individual man.”⁹⁸

Bush has exceedingly few metaphorical expressions under this heading. Those he does have, like so many others previously discussed, are mostly in the past tense. What

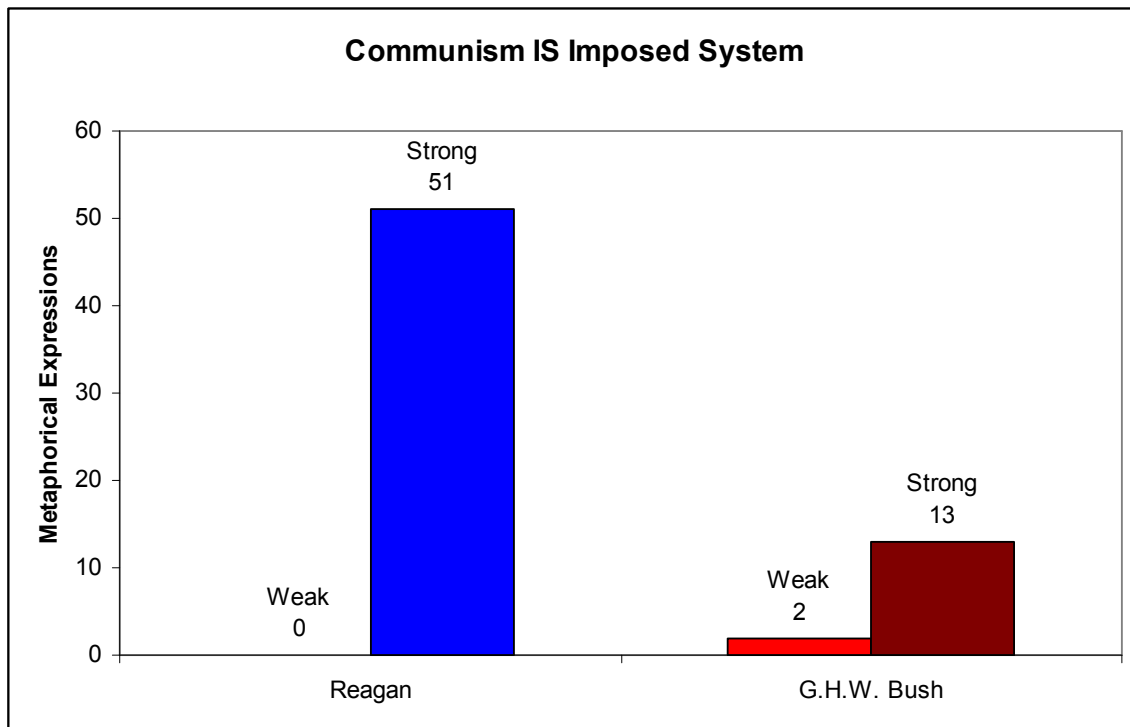
⁹⁵ Reagan. “Address to the Nation on the Soviet Attack on a Korean Civilian Airliner.” 1983.

⁹⁶ Reagan. “About Christmas and the Situation in Poland.” 1981.

⁹⁷ Reagan. “Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin.” 1987.

⁹⁸ Reagan. “Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida.” 1983.

is perhaps the most poignant of Bush's metaphorical expressions, and also in the present tense, comes during his statement concerning the resignation of Gorbachev, and the effective end of the Cold War. Bush says of Gorbachev that he is "responsible for one of the most important developments of this century, the revolutionary transformation of a totalitarian dictatorship and the liberation of his people from its smothering embrace."⁹⁹ These words, in real time, put a close to the Cold War. The system of imposition, oppression, and persecution was now fully relegated to the past tense.



COMMUNISM IS EVIL

One of Reagan's most famous speeches is that in which he directly declares Communism to be evil. While speaking to the National Association of Evangelicals, Reagan states that Communism is both "an evil empire," and, what is more, "the focus of evil in the modern world."¹⁰⁰ These two uses of "evil" are not equal. The first states merely that the Communist (Soviet) Empire is evil. The latter expression states that evil as an entity exists independently of its expressions.

⁹⁹ Bush. "Statement on the Resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev as President of the Soviet Union." 1991.

¹⁰⁰ Reagan. "Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida." 1983.

This distinction is very important. While both express that Communism is evil, the use of “evil empire” suggests that the two are existentially linked, and that the destruction of the Communist Empire will in turn eliminate, or in some other way diminish, evil. The use of “the focus of evil” makes the two independent of each other. This means that Communism is evil now, but does not have to be in the future; *and* that the end or diminishing of Communism will not itself necessarily impact evil at all. This last point is made again by an earlier statement in the same speech where Reagan says, “there is sin and evil in the world.”¹⁰¹

That Communism is the expression of evil but not the totality of evil does two things. First, it affirms that Communism is totally evil. Second, it implies that in addition to Communism being an enemy, Evil itself is also an enemy, perhaps even *the* enemy to be fought.

Bush has only one sixth as many metaphorical expressions concerning evil as Reagan does. Nowhere does he have any as strong or meaningful as were some of Reagan’s. One metaphorical expression that he does use in his 1992 State of the Union, however, relates to Reagan’s statement earlier on about there being evil in the world. In describing the momentous end of the Cold War, Bush says, “By the grace of God, America won the cold war.”¹⁰²

At first glance, we see that there is no statement about the Soviet Union or Communism being evil, but looking more closely at what is said leads us to that conclusion. God, God’s will, and God’s grace are necessarily for good. If God’s will acted through the US or for the US, than the US’s cause must have been good as well. If the US was good, than the opposition to that good must be evil. The US’s opponent was Communism, therefore Communism must be evil.

Just as Reagan’s declarations about there being evil in the world and foci of evil in the world, Bush’s declaration addresses the other side of that extended plane between good and evil. God (and we might as well assume “Good”) exists in the world independently as does Evil. The “focus of Good” is the United States. Just as

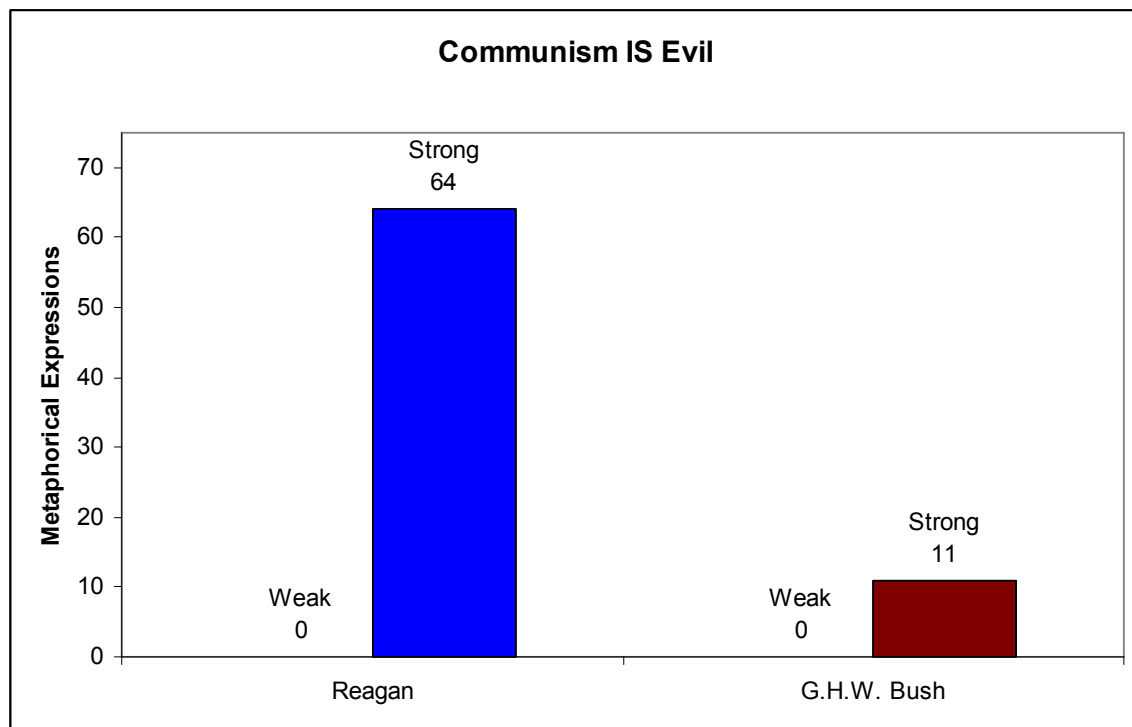
¹⁰¹ Reagan. “Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida.” 1983.

¹⁰² Bush. “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union.” 1992.

Communism is the means of conveyance for Evil, so too is the United States the conveyance for Good.

This statement has several important points. First, it implies that the US is totally good because it exists totally within God's grace. Secondly, however, just as we stated above that the "focus of evil" may change from Communism to something else, it must also be recognized that the "grace of God" may change from the US to something else.

That neither of these points ever actually seem to be acknowledged (for what country would actually admit that it can or does do anything other than strive for Good?) reinforces the "Us/Them" structure, whereby "We" are always good and "They" are always evil.



COMMUNISM IS PERVERSION

Reagan has several different kinds of metaphorical expressions fitting under this conceptual metaphor. Among the most frequent is the Communist perversion of government. He states that "Government exists for [the people's] convenience, not the

other way around,”¹⁰³ implying that the Communist understanding of governance is the complete opposite of that upon which the US was founded. Also, when Reagan is discussing the situation in Poland, he says that the Polish people “have been betrayed by their own government.”¹⁰⁴ He continues saying, “the Polish Government wages war against its own people.”¹⁰⁵ Both of these statements speak to an unnatural relationship between a government and its people. The government is supposed to protect its people, not wage war on them or betray them.

Another important strain of metaphorical expression is the Communist perversion of morality. Reagan describes what he sees as the declared Communist ethical maxim, saying, “Morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war.”¹⁰⁶ The concept of a morality being defined in terms of the interests of war is wholly perverse. After the Soviets shot down a civilian airliner, Reagan stresses this perversion of morality much more clearly. He declares that the situation was nothing less than the Soviet Union standing “against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere.”¹⁰⁷ Reagan continues, stating that, “They deny the deed, but in their conflicting and misleading protestations, the Soviets reveal that, yes, shooting down a plane – even one with hundreds of innocent men, women, children, and babies – is a part of their normal procedure if that plane is in what they claim as their airspace.”¹⁰⁸ Quite explicitly, Reagan separates Communist morality from that of the world, sets the two opposite each other, and declares that it is the “normal procedure” in such a regime to kill hundreds of defenseless people, including “children, and babies.”

Bush, again, has very few metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor. He has absolutely none from the end of the Cold War onwards. His most powerful statement regarding the perversion of Communism is a reference to his envoyship to Communist China in the 1970’s. Bush recalls, “I came across [something] from a Chinese writer ... ‘Today,’ he said, ‘we’re afraid of the simple words like “goodness”

¹⁰³ Reagan. “On Arms Reduction and Nuclear Weapons.” 1981.

¹⁰⁴ Reagan. “About Christmas and the Situation in Poland.” 1981.

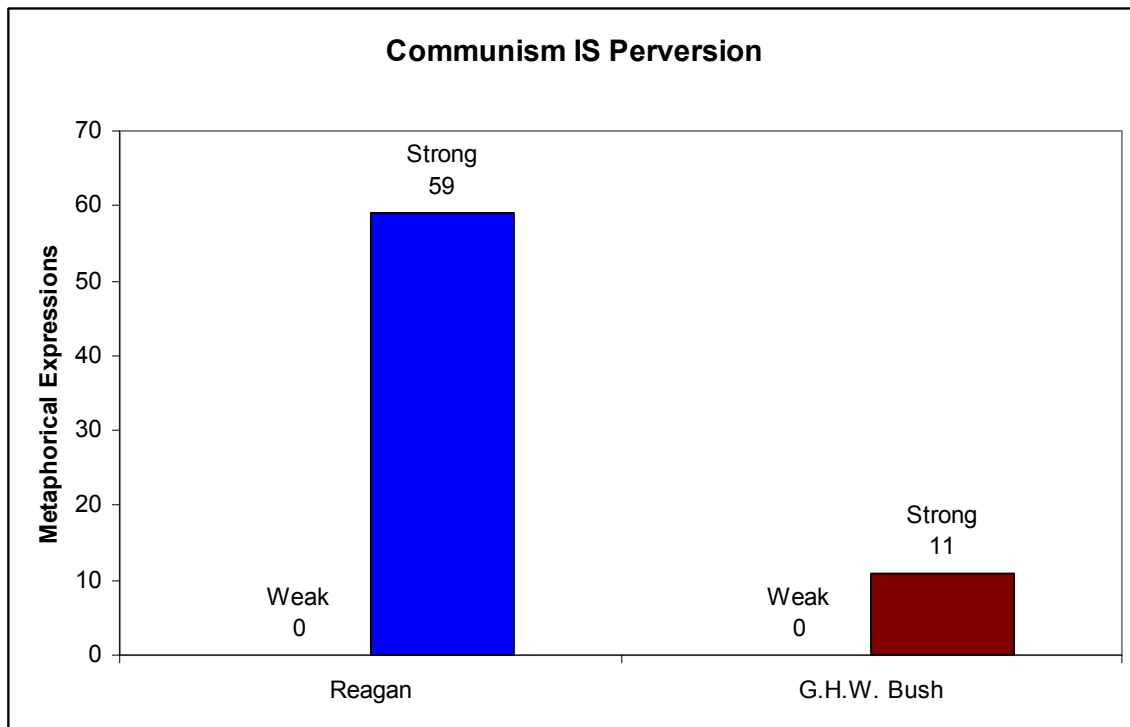
¹⁰⁵ Reagan. “About Christmas and the Situation in Poland.” 1981.

¹⁰⁶ Reagan. “Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida.” 1983.

¹⁰⁷ Reagan. “Address to the Nation on the Soviet Attack on a Korean Civilian Airliner.” 1983.

¹⁰⁸ Reagan. “Address to the Nation on the Soviet Attack on a Korean Civilian Airliner.” 1983.

and “mercy” and “kindness.”””¹⁰⁹ Fearing goodness and kindness is a much more subtle, and yet pervasive, perversion of morality and emotion than is the occasional outrageously violent act of shooting down an airliner. Reagan spoke to this point too, saying that “the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West ... [is that the] totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront.”¹¹⁰



¹⁰⁹ Bush. “Address on Administration Goals Before a Joint Session of Congress.” 1989.

¹¹⁰ Reagan. “Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin.” 1987.

VI. The Beginning of the War on Terror: G.W. Bush

TERRORISM IS THREAT

This is the first time in this universe of discourse where a president referred to a threat which was *actually* present in both time and space. Moments after the World Trade Center was attacked, G.W. Bush spoke, saying, “this is a difficult moment for America...Today we’ve had a national tragedy. Two airplanes have crashed into the World Trade Center in an apparent terrorist attack on our country.”¹¹¹ In *this* moment, *today*, *our* country was attacked. It should not be surprising then that there are many times more metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor provided by this administration than by any other discussed in this paper.

The very name of the event would come to be known as “9/11,” not a place, but a date. This was not the “East Coast Attacks” or the “New York and D.C. Attacks.” This was “September 11th.” September 11th happened everywhere because that date was everywhere, across the whole country, even to the last state which would wake up long after it was over. Moreover, it was “9/11” and not “9/11/01.” September 11th comes every year. It is, by its very name, forever present.

Within less than twenty-four hours, Bush declares “the deliberate and deadly attacks which were carried out yesterday against our country were more than acts of terror. They were acts of war.”¹¹² In less than twenty-four hours, the situation changed from several attacks confined to three locations on one day, to a war with no defined range in time or space. The threat was thereby transferred from the past to both the present and the future.

Bush continues this theme of continued threat in his address to Congress nine days after the attacks. He speaks of the country having been “awakened to danger,”¹¹³ the implication being that the danger was already present in space before anyone was

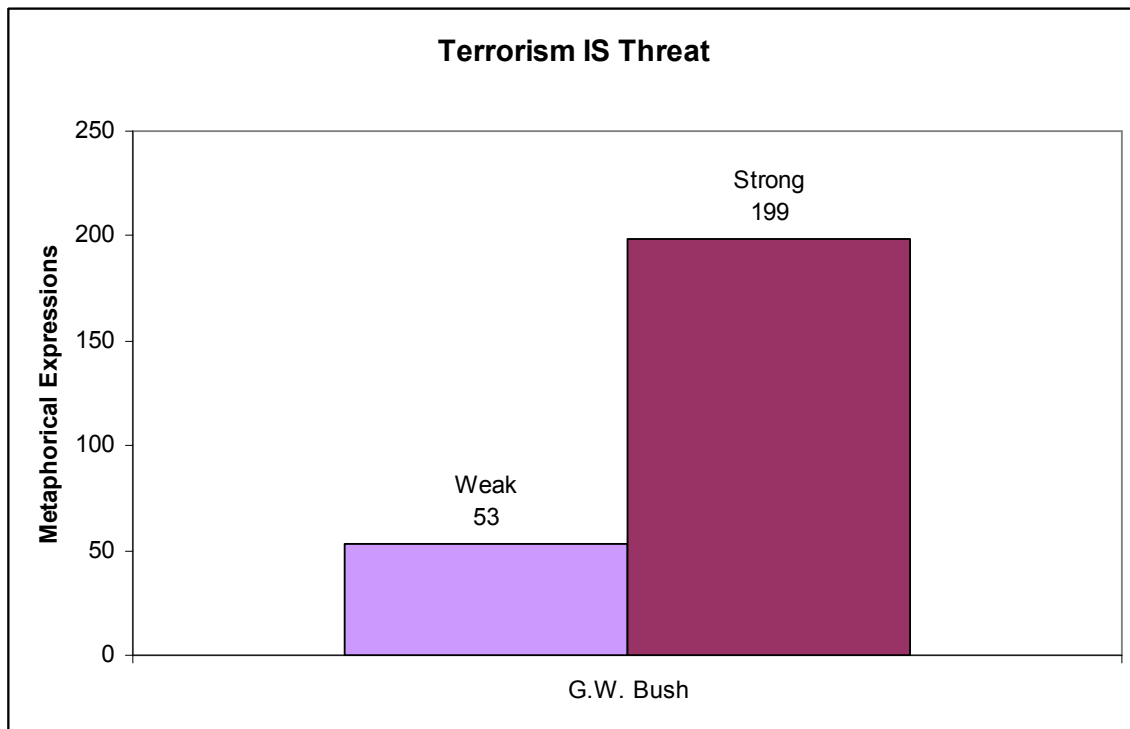
¹¹¹ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President After Two Planes Crash Into World Trade Center.” 2001.

¹¹² G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President in Photo Opportunity with the National Security Team.” 2001.

¹¹³ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

aware of it, further implying that there could still be a danger that is unknown and will be revealed at any moment. He refers to both the “continuing threat,”¹¹⁴ as well as the fears of an “age of terror.”¹¹⁵ Bush states that the US has the power to prevent such an age, but the mentioning of it adds to the notion of permanence, as does his mentioning his hopes for a return to normalcy “in the months and years ahead.”¹¹⁶ All of this creates an atmosphere of a perpetually present threat.

Speeches further removed from the day of the attack do not temper this notion of the perpetual presence of the threat. In his first State of the Union Address after the attacks, Bush speaks of how “thousands of dangerous killers ... are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.”¹¹⁷ This returns the threat to perpetual presence in *both* time and space. At any moment, anywhere, there can be, and probably will be, another attack.



¹¹⁴ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹¹⁵ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹¹⁶ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹¹⁷ G. W. Bush. “The President’s State of the Union Address.” 2002.

TERRORISTS IS OFFENDERS

There is nothing particularly fascinating about the frequency of the metaphorical expressions Bush provides under this conceptual metaphor. Though there are many times more than those of G.H.W. Bush, the frequency is relatively the same as that for Reagan. Neither is there much interesting or new in the types of metaphorical expressions Bush provides. He continues with Reagan's advance of the world being split between "We, the civilized," and "They, the barbaric," proclaiming that the terrorists are "barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name."¹¹⁸ Bush also maintains the long held mantra that "freedom and democracy are under attack,"¹¹⁹ and that, by attacking the US, the terrorists had attacked "all freedom-loving people everywhere in the world."¹²⁰

Though there are not many new metaphorical expressions provided by Bush, the very absence of one particular new type of metaphorical expression is most interesting. In his address to Congress, nine days after the attacks, Bush says of the terrorists, "We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions – by abandoning every value except the will to power – they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism."¹²¹ "Communism" is peculiarly absent from the list.

The terrorists are offenders, they are terrible and evil, just like the Nazis; but why is Reagan's "Evil Empire" not mentioned by name? The Cold War was the most recent great conflagration the US was in and won. It may be relegated under "the murderous ideologies of the 20th century" or "totalitarianism," but why mention fascism and Nazism by name while leaving out Communism or whatever Sovietism might be made out to signify? The terrorists are no closer to the definition of fascism than they are to communism. Three months later, again connecting the terrorists with fascism, Bush says, "They have the same will to power, the same disdain for the individual, the same mad

¹¹⁸ G. W. Bush. "Presidential Address to the Nation." 2001.

¹¹⁹ G. W. Bush. "Remarks by the President in Photo Opportunity with the National Security Team." 2001.

¹²⁰ G. W. Bush. "Remarks by the President in Photo Opportunity with the National Security Team." 2001.

¹²¹ G. W. Bush. "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People." 2001.

global ambitions.”¹²² As much as this may describe fascism and terrorism, it describes Communism.

Aside from peculiar and interesting absences, the reasons for which most likely lie outside of this paper, Bush does contribute an array of metaphorical expressions describing the terrorists as offenders. Bush describes them as “barbaric criminals”¹²³ and “murderers”¹²⁴ to whom “justice will be done.”¹²⁵ From these expressions of criminality, Bush’s metaphorical expressions increase in magnitude to political entities, referring to terrorism as “tyranny,”¹²⁶ and again the heirs to various political systems and “murderous ideologies”¹²⁷ of the preceding century. From here, the magnitude turns even greater, to where Bush declares that the US’s battle with the terrorists “will be a monumental struggle of good versus evil.”¹²⁸

From all of these metaphorical expressions, it is clear that the terrorists are the offenders. It is not overly clear, though, whether they be petty, serious, traditional, or supernatural offenders. Again, however, this entire array of metaphorical expressions can be found in the previous administrations investigated in this paper.

¹²² G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President on the USS Enterprise on Pearl Harbor Day.” 2001.

¹²³ G. W. Bush. “Presidential Address to the Nation.” 2001.

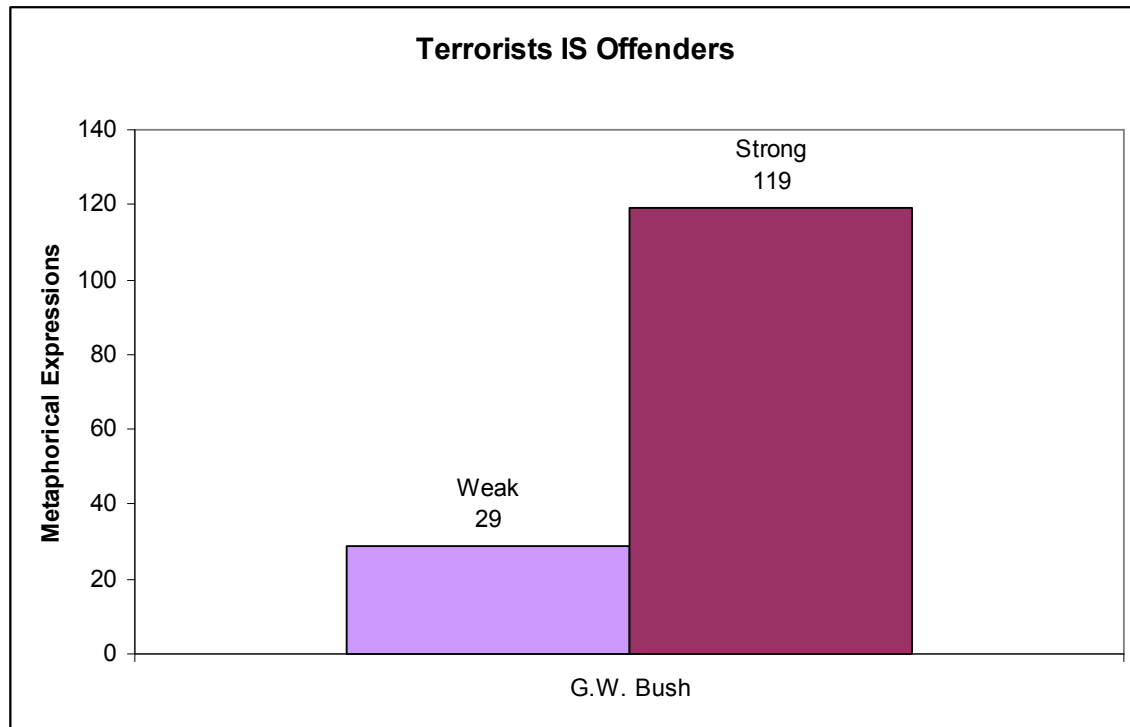
¹²⁴ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹²⁵ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹²⁶ G. W. Bush. “The World Will Always Remember September 11.” 2001.

¹²⁷ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹²⁸ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President in Photo Opportunity with the National Security Team.” 2001.



NON-TERRORIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM

This instance of the conceptual metaphor NON-TERRORIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM contains fewer metaphorical expressions than all of the previous administrations here discussed, except for Truman's. This is understandable considering the complexity of the necessary structure of the conceptual metaphor. While with the previous administrations, it was difficult neither to imagine nor speak of a "Communist nation," free or otherwise, making such a statement with "Terrorism" and "Terrorists" is considerably less easy. Nonetheless, such a connection is made by Bush, and it is exceedingly important for both the linguistics of the War on Terror and the policy which was to become known as the Bush Doctrine.

In Bush's address to Congress nine days after the attacks, he says that al Qaeda "has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world."¹²⁹ Not only are the Taliban supporting terrorists, but terrorists are supporting the Taliban, and through this relationship, they are helping to rule the country. What is more, "al Qaeda's vision

¹²⁹ G. W. Bush. "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People." 2001.

for the world” is political. It is about how to rule and how to legislate, not only and not merely to remove the US from the face of the Earth.

In Bush’s address to the United Nations, this link between government and terrorism is made strongly again. Speaking about governments and aid in the War on Terror, Bush says:

And some governments, while pledging to uphold the principles of the U.N., have cast their lot with the terrorists. They support them and harbor them, and they will find that their welcome guests are parasites that will weaken them, and eventually consume them. For every regime that sponsors terror, there is a price to be paid. And it will be paid. The allies of terror are equally guilty of murder and equally accountable to justice. The Taliban are now learning this lesson -- that regime and the terrorists who support it are now virtually indistinguishable. Together they promote terror abroad and impose a reign of terror on the Afghan people.¹³⁰

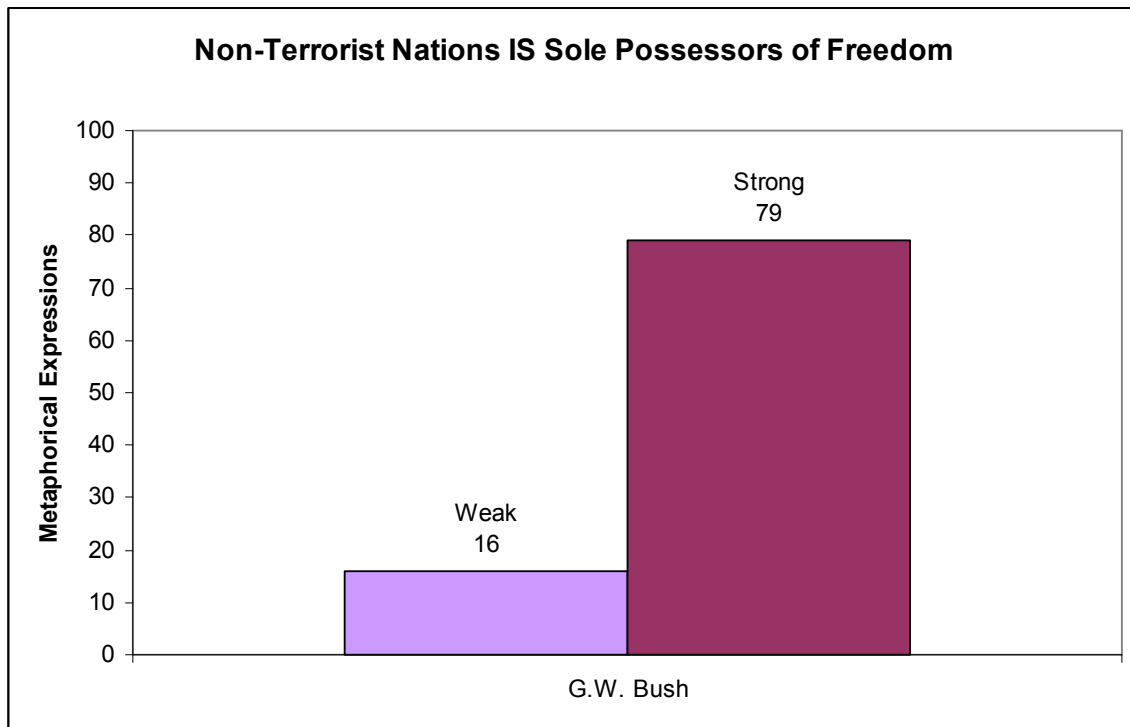
Governments who help terrorists are equal to terrorists, becoming “virtually indistinguishable,” just as the case with the Taliban. If governments are equal to terrorists, then the reverse is true also. Thus, it can be conceived for there to be nations subject to rule by terrorists, like Afghanistan, and those not subject to rule by terrorists, being the “free nations.”

Even with this link between terrorism and governments, the link which allowed for the War on Terrorism to be waged against governments, while many metaphorical expressions concern the absence of freedoms in Afghanistan, the majority of metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor speak of the US possessing freedom. Explaining why the US was attacked, Bush answers, “They hate our freedoms – our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree.”¹³¹ They hate freedom, which means it is banished from their lands and they hate us because it is present in our lands.

¹³⁰ G. W. Bush. “Remarks be the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.

¹³¹ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

More than just *possessing* freedom, however, Bush declares repeatedly that “America [is] freedom’s defender.”¹³² Even more, not only are we the defenders of “our precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.”¹³³ The US possesses and defends freedom everywhere in the world, making conflict with those who hate freedom and forbid freedom inevitable.



TERRORISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY

Bush provides many numerous examples of metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor. Many of them are, perhaps expectedly, dichotomizations, while others speak of a “global terror network.”¹³⁴ In other speeches, Bush speaks of the “forces of terror”¹³⁵ and “fight[ing] terror,”¹³⁶ and the very name “War on Terror” implies that it, terror, is one unified thing, whatever that thing may be.

¹³² G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President on the USS Enterprise on Pearl Harbor Day.” 2001.; G. W. Bush. “The World Will Always Remember September 11.” 2001.

¹³³ G. W. Bush. “Presidential Address to the Nation.” 2001.

¹³⁴ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹³⁵ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President on the USS Enterprise on Pearl Harbor Day.” 2001.

¹³⁶ G. W. Bush. “The World Will Always Remember September 11.” 2001.

Other statements that Bush makes are confusing due to their implied interchangeability of terms. When speaking nine days after the attacks, Bush says:

Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda ... Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime ... The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics -- a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children. This group and its leader -- a person named Osama bin Laden -- are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries ... The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world.¹³⁷

Notice the change back and forth between “terrorists” and “al Qaeda.” Notice in particular the change between “Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime” and “The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics -- a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam.” The metaphor about al Qaeda and the mafia makes it seem as though al Qaeda and terrorism are separable somehow. Yet, the very next usage states that the *terrorists* practice Islam. This is to say that all criminals are also mafians, and Italian to boot. Bush’s metaphor, combined with the following sentences, do not point in any way to al Qaeda and terrorism being separate from each other. The interchangeability of terms Bush uses suggests that, not only is terrorism a unified entity that attacked the US, it is also nominally Muslim. It is to say that the Irish Republican Army, the various Jewish Zionist groups of the last century, and countless other groups were closeted, anti-American, fringe Muslims.

¹³⁷ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

Later in the same speech, Bush makes the connection even clearer. Using dichotomization as a tool, he says, “Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.”¹³⁸ There are two groups, “Us” and “Them.” “They” are the terrorists. If a state sides with “Them,” then it is a terrorist enemy as well.

The most dramatic example of the unity of terrorism comes at Bush’s address to the United Nations. There, he declares:

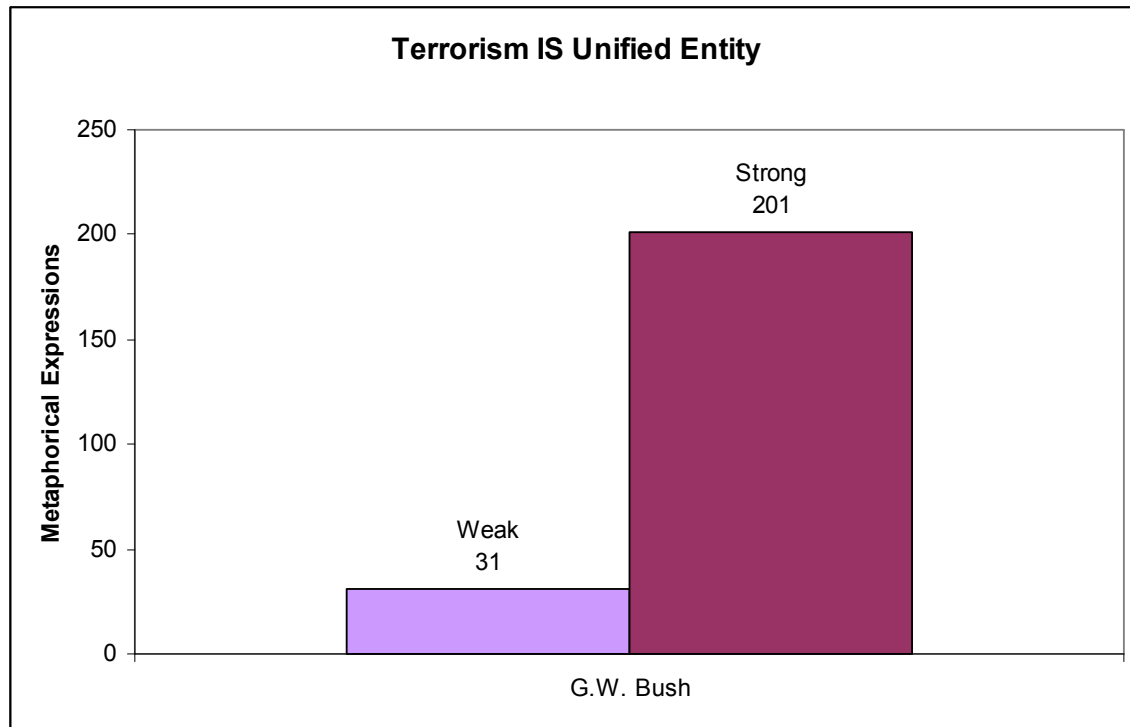
We must unite in opposing all terrorists, not just some of them. In this world there are good causes and bad causes, and we may disagree on where the line is drawn.

Yet, there is no such thing as a good terrorist. No national aspiration, no remembered wrong can ever justify the deliberate murder of the innocent. Any government that rejects this principle, trying to pick and choose its terrorist friends, will know the consequences.¹³⁹

Here, Bush recognizes the perception that terrorists and terrorism are not all one-in-the-same thing, and he declares that this perception of reality is wrong. Bush states that terrorism is a unified entity and that this entity is and can only be for bad. Here, also, Bush implies the connection between the states who aid terrorists and terrorism itself, threatening consequences for such regimes who do not come to recognize terrorism as a unified and bad thing.

¹³⁸ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹³⁹ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.



ECONOMICS IS DETERMINATOR OF POLITICS

While Bush provides considerably few metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor, they are still some of the most direct examples of any metaphorical expressions that he uses. One of the very first metaphorical expressions Bush uses refers to the object of the terrorist attack. Bush describes how the “terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity.”¹⁴⁰ The attack was on an economic symbol. If one accepts that terrorism has political ends, then the terrorist attack, on a symbol of the American economy, was intended to have an effect on American policy.

Reflecting back to Truman and Eisenhower, Bush also states that terrorists “exploit poverty and despair.”¹⁴¹ Just as terrorists exploit want, in order to battle them Bush says, “we must offer an alternative of opportunity and hope.”¹⁴² Bush suggests what this alternative should consist of, describing how “when men and women are released from oppression and isolation, they find fulfillment and hope, and they leave

¹⁴⁰ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

¹⁴¹ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.

¹⁴² G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.

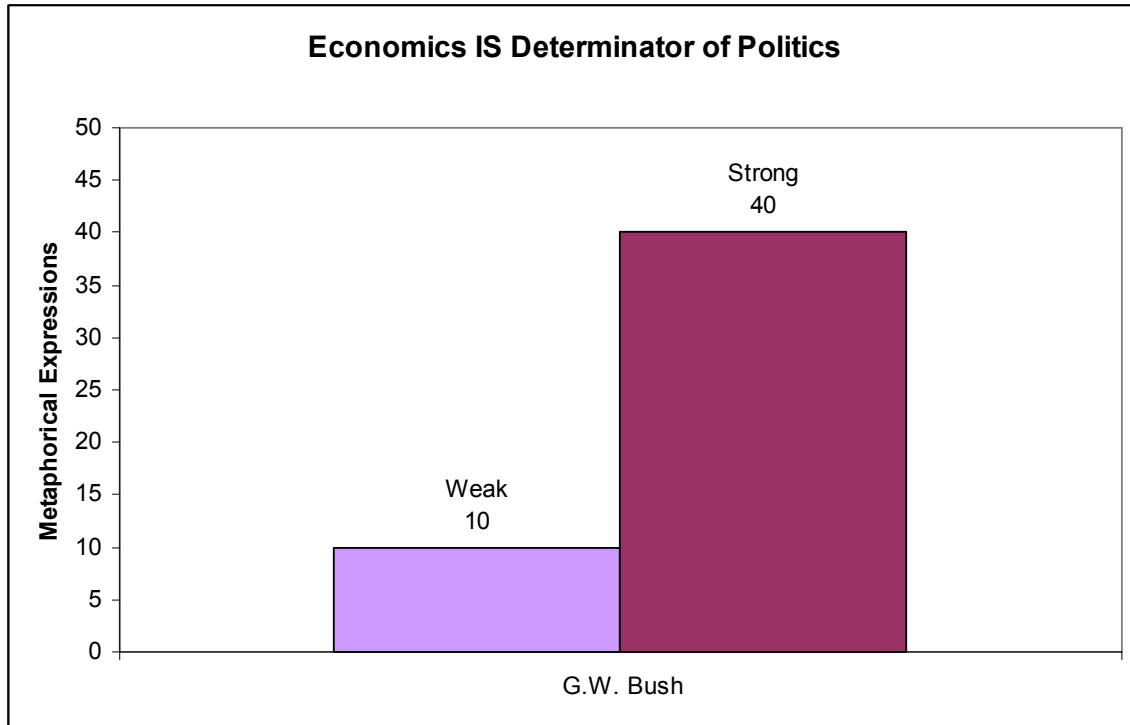
poverty by the millions.”¹⁴³ This last example calls to mind the circle of politics/economics/politics discussed with Reagan. If the political situation in, what we will call, “at-risk” countries is changed, then the economic situation will also change. Once the economic situation is changed, the terrorists will not have a demographic to exploit. Continuing on the theme, in his State of the Union, Bush refers to how “in every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives.”¹⁴⁴ Another Cold War theme, free markets will improve the quality of life of the people, and thus lessen the political danger posed by poverty and want.

Another theme that returns to the forefront from the previous discussion of Reagan is the importance of the budget and its attachment to the national political situation. Still in the State of the Union, Bush declares, “Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress ... My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades – because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high.”¹⁴⁵ There is a price for this political system, this freedom, and without the economic backing for it, the political system will cease to exist.

¹⁴³ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.

¹⁴⁴ G. W. Bush. “The President’s State of the Union Address.” 2002.

¹⁴⁵ G. W. Bush. “The President’s State of the Union Address.” 2002.



TERRORISM IS IMPOSED SYSTEM

Similarly to the above conceptual metaphor concerned with the notion of statehood, NON-TERRORIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM, this conceptual metaphor faces the difficulty of itself, for unlike Communism, terrorism is not a politico-economic system. However, the same path of connection between terrorism and states outlined in that preceding conceptual metaphor holds true for this one as well. In fact, the significantly few examples of metaphorical expressions presented in this section are almost wholly made up of the argument providing that connection.

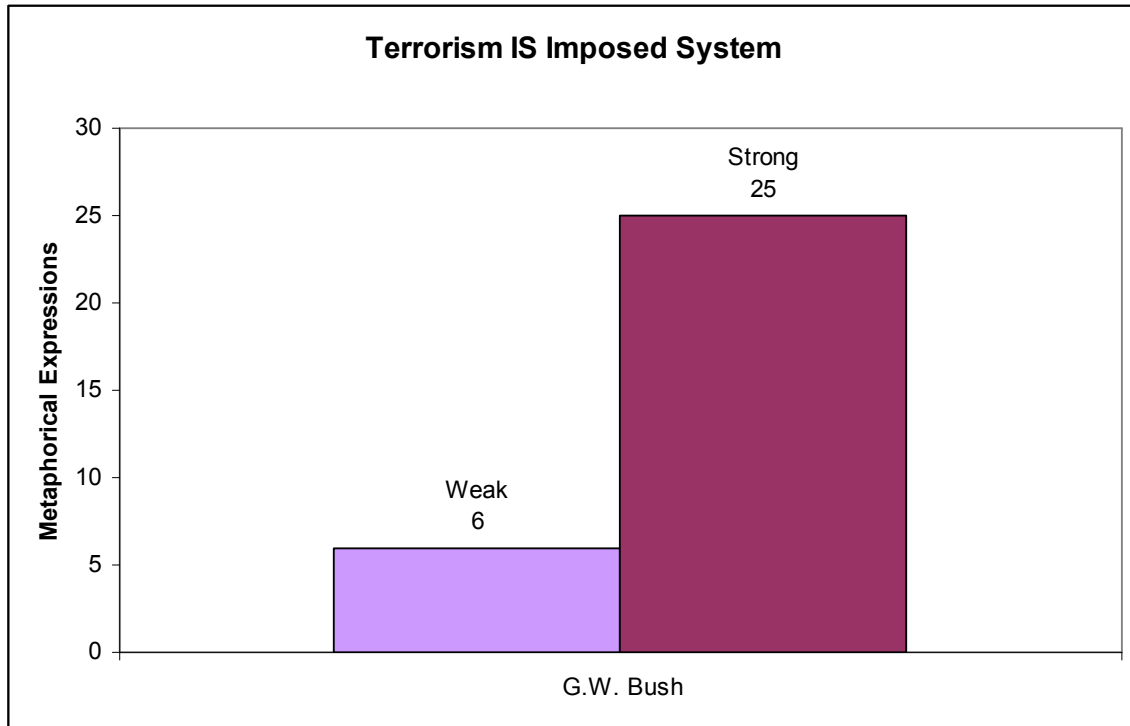
The vast majority of the metaphorical expressions here represented are concerned with Afghanistan and its terrorist connection. Bush describes the plight of the Afghan people, saying, “the Taliban have brought [suffering] upon Afghanistan, including the burden of war,”¹⁴⁶ and that “millions of Afghans [are] refugees from Taliban oppression.”¹⁴⁷ After the war begins, Bush welcomes the “distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan,”¹⁴⁸ and declares that “the Islamic ‘street’ greeted the fall of

¹⁴⁶ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.

¹⁴⁷ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.

¹⁴⁸ G. W. Bush. “The President’s State of the Union Address.” 2002.

tyranny with song and celebration.”¹⁴⁹ The Afghans’ suffering under tyranny and oppression was ended by American liberation. The US removed the imposed system that prevented freedom and encouraged terrorism.



TERRORISM IS EVIL

The frequency of metaphorical expressions Bush provides under this conceptual metaphor is second only to Reagan in the administrations discussed here. In every speech in the universe of discourse, after the day of the attacks, there is at least one metaphorical expression relating to TERRORISM IS EVIL. Most poignantly, perhaps, the day after the attacks, Bush declares, “This will be a monumental struggle of good versus evil.”¹⁵⁰ In the very first hours of this developing War on Terror, the enemy has been declared “evil.” In his address nine days after the attacks, Bush describes how the terrorists are trained and then “sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.”¹⁵¹ Not only are the terrorists evil, but they teach others to be so and to further spawn evil in turn.

¹⁴⁹ G. W. Bush. “The President’s State of the Union Address.” 2002.

¹⁵⁰ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President in Photo Opportunity with the National Security Team.” 2001.

¹⁵¹ G. W. Bush. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” 2001.

There are many instances of similar declarations of the evil nature of terrorism and of terrorists, but there are two examples that are particularly important. The first occurs during Bush's address to the United Nations. The second occurs during his State of the Union.

In addition to speaking of "light overcoming darkness,"¹⁵² the terrorists having "no hint of [a] conscience,"¹⁵³ and the fight against the evil of terrorism being "the most basic commitment of civilization,"¹⁵⁴ Bush alludes to the very nature of Evil. In opening his address, Bush recalls:

In a second world war, we learned there is no isolation from evil. We affirmed that some crimes are so terrible they offend humanity, itself. And we resolved that the aggressions and ambitions of the wicked must be opposed early, decisively, and collectively, before they threaten us all. That evil has returned, and that cause is renewed.¹⁵⁵

Bush speaks of "that evil" which the US learned about in World War II. Similarly to the discussion about the independent existence of Good and Evil under Reagan and G.H.W. Bush, this statement describes the continuous presence of Evil expressed through different means. Evil exists. The US learned of it particularly during the Second World War, and fought it. Administrations between that moment and this recognized Evil in a different guise, and again fought it. Now Evil has returned again in a new form, and again the US must fight it. The war is no longer on terrorism, it is no longer new; but rather it is a new battle in an old war against Evil.

Similarly to the United Nations address, Bush's State of the Union speaks of the independence of the existence of Evil from the terrorists conveying that Evil. In perhaps one of the most widely known metaphorical expressions Bush produces, he declares, "States like these [North Korea, Iran, and Iraq], and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world."¹⁵⁶ As with Reagan's description of the USSR as the Evil Empire and the focus of evil, Bush's "axis of evil" presents

¹⁵² G. W. Bush. "Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly." 2001.

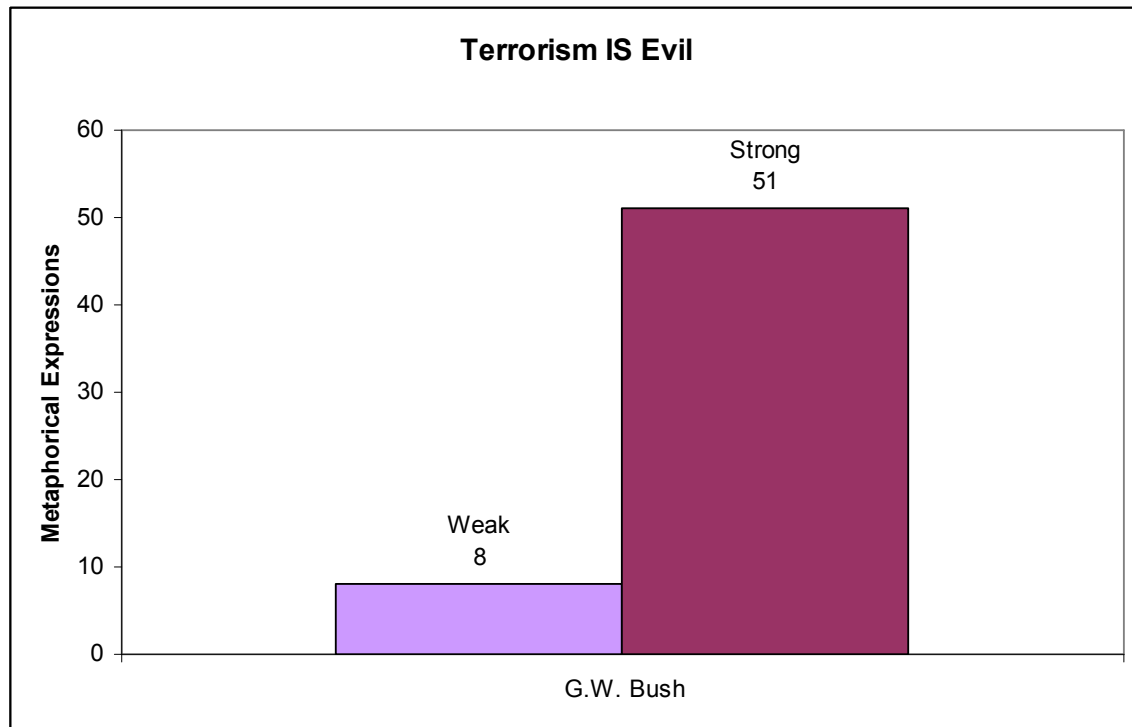
¹⁵³ G. W. Bush. "Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly." 2001.

¹⁵⁴ G. W. Bush. "Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly." 2001.

¹⁵⁵ G. W. Bush. "Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly." 2001.

¹⁵⁶ G. W. Bush. "The President's State of the Union Address." 2002.

terrorism as Evil's focus and tool. Terrorism is wholly evil, but Evil is more than just terrorism.



TERRORISM IS PERVERSION

The vast majority of the metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor deal with the terrorists' perversion of religion. In the very first instances of metaphorical expressions, Bush describes the terrorists as "practic[ing] a fringe form of Islamic extremism ... that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam."¹⁵⁷ Not only are the terrorists practicing an extreme form of Islam, but they are practicing an extreme form of the extreme form, completely perverting their base religion. More over, Bush continues, "[they] commit evil in the name of Allah [and thereby] blaspheme the name of Allah,"¹⁵⁸ while only offering "pretenses to piety."¹⁵⁹

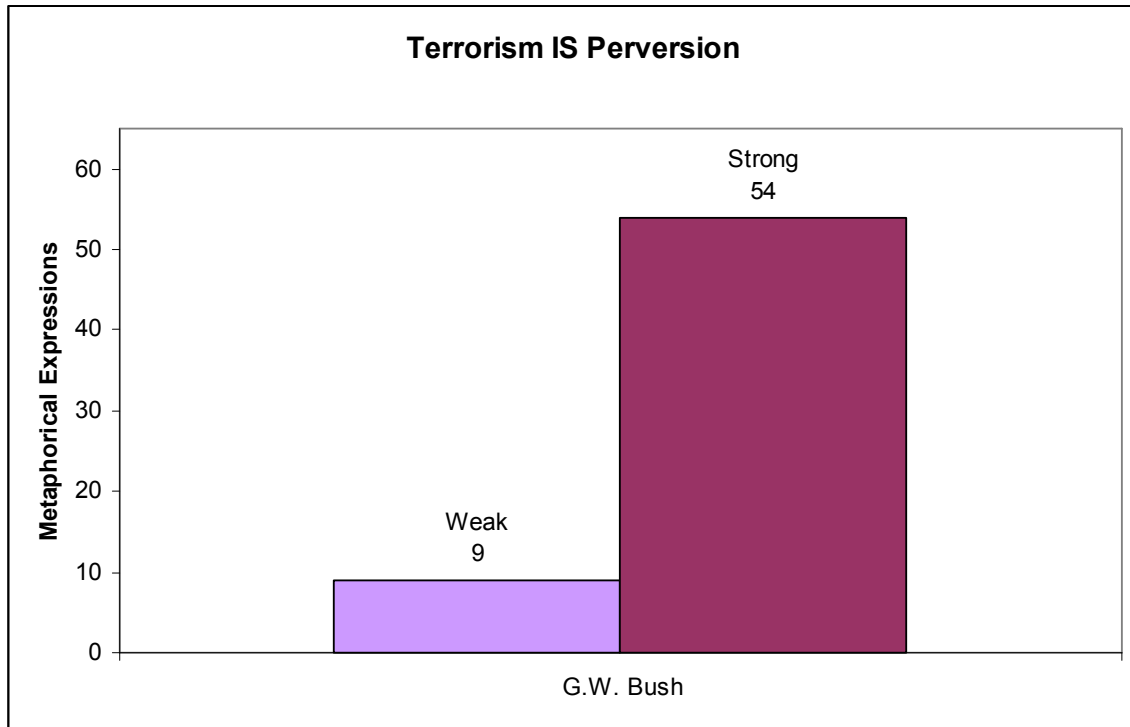
In addition to such metaphorical expressions concentrating on Islam, Bush speaks of the terrorists' perversion of the concept of religion as a whole. He states that the

¹⁵⁷ G. W. Bush. "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People." 2001.

¹⁵⁸ G. W. Bush. "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People." 2001.

¹⁵⁹ G. W. Bush. "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People." 2001.

terrorists are “violating the tenets of every religion,”¹⁶⁰ and he repeatedly declares that they have “no conscience.”¹⁶¹ What is more, Bush describes the terrorists as “embrac[ing] tyranny and death as a cause and a creed,”¹⁶² and making “a sacrament of suicide.”¹⁶³



¹⁶⁰ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.

¹⁶¹ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President to United Nations General Assembly.” 2001.; G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President on the USS Enterprise on Pearl Harbor Day.” 2001.

¹⁶² G. W. Bush. “The President’s State of the Union Address.” 2002.

¹⁶³ G. W. Bush. “Remarks by the President on the USS Enterprise on Pearl Harbor Day.” 2001.

VII. Conclusion

Summation and Implications

In the Truman and Eisenhower presidencies, we see the formation of the Cold War rhetoric and mentality that will direct the nation for the next several decades. We see the US take on the burden of being the defender of freedom as well as the defender of the entire world in its efforts to prevent a third world war. In the change of power from Truman to Eisenhower, we see the beginning of the continual presence of threat against the US and the free world, as well as a strong increase in the number of metaphorical expressions identifying the enemy.

In the Reagan and G.H.W. Bush presidencies, we see the results of the Cold War policies and problems as identified and initiated by the Truman and Eisenhower presidencies. The continual presence of threat turns into a perpetual threat not giving itself to having any possible conclusion. Additionally, we see how the solidification and stagnation of that Cold War mentality initiated by Truman reaches a zenith under Reagan, and ultimately stumbles apart under Bush, at one and the same time bringing the perpetual threat to an end. Between these two presidencies, we see the fever pitch of Cold War mentality-turned-everyday dissolve into an uncomfortable “victory” leaving the country looking for a post-Cold War identity, no longer having an Evil Empire to defend liberty against.

In the G.W. Bush presidency, we see the return of America’s identity as freedom’s defender. While the issues of having a non-state entity as an enemy obviously impact the frequency of the related metaphorical expressions, we do see a resurgence in the metaphorical expressions identifying the enemy which were temporarily lost at the end of the Cold War. Once again, the US finds itself face to face with a unified, evil, and perverse offender, providing a constant threat which, even at its outset, strongly seems to lend itself to being perpetual in nature.

Something very interesting to notice is that, in the few months during the initiation of the War on Terror, G.W. Bush seems to go through almost all of the stages apparent in the four Cold War presidencies spanning several decades. The initial shock

of the attacks, introducing the presence of the threat, quickly evolves into a perpetual threat. The initial need for immediate action against the threat and immediate aid for those under threat quickly evolves into the bureaucratic budgetry of spending to defeat the enemy. The initial offense against one area quickly evolves into a global battle for civilization itself. Finally, an initial evil, attached to descriptions of specific acts, quickly evolves into *the Evil* which has emerged in different forms since the attacks on Pearl Harbor to threaten the world and the world's defender, America.

Conclusion

Three of the conceptual metaphors have a strong connection between the War on Terror time period and the previous two time periods. These three are: COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS THREAT, COMMUNISTS/TERRORISTS IS OFFENDERS, and COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY. There are two more conceptual metaphors with a slightly weaker connection. They are COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS EVIL, and COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS PERVERSION.

In regards to the strong conceptual metaphors, such as COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS THREAT, some may argue that the strong showing may be discounted due to the context of history. Even taking this into account, and rightfully, it only explains the degree of the five fold increase of G.W. Bush's use of such metaphorical expressions, not that he used them; and certainly not Reagan's strong appeal to the conceptual metaphor as well. It has no impact on G.W. Bush's appeals to TERRORISM IS UNIFIED ENTITY. The majority of his metaphorical expressions reference only terrorists. The record of metaphorical expressions are not unduly inflated by his attempts to connect states with terrorism.

What has the strongest connection is the conceptual metaphor which also has the strongest showing of metaphorical expressions in all three time periods. That is COMMUNISTS/TERRORISTS IS OFFENDERS. With the exception of G.H.W. Bush, there is a steadily increasing number of already highly numerous metaphorical expressions under this conceptual metaphor. It would seem that the identification of the

enemy as the offender, of “the other” as being negative and in the wrong, is one of the strongest concepts of identity.

The conceptual metaphors COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS EVIL and COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS PERVERSION do not show as strong of a connection as that of the three just discussed. In both conceptual metaphors, the total of G.W. Bush’s metaphorical expressions came in close second to the uses of other presidents. In COMMUNISM IS EVIL, there was not an overly strong showing at all until Reagan’s presidency. This was not the case in COMMUNISM IS PERVERSION. In that conceptual metaphor, Truman, Eisenhower, and Reagan all had relatively strong numbers of metaphorical expressions, with Eisenhower providing the most. It seems that the enemy is more often perverse in some fashion rather than always evil.

In the remaining conceptual metaphors, NON-COMMUNIST/NON-TERRORIST NATIONS IS SOLE POSSESSORS OF FREEDOM, ECONOMICS IS DETERMINATOR OF POLITICS, COMMUNISM/TERRORISM IS IMPOSED SYSTEM, there were not such strong connections. Each of these three conceptual metaphors, explicitly or implicitly, referred to a government or state system. This must have had an impact on the frequency of metaphorical expressions. Little else can explain how or why, in all of the post-9/11 flag-waiving and patriotism, that G.W. Bush would provide fewer metaphorical expressions concerning freedom than even his father.

The weak connection between the Cold War periods and the War on Terror period does not mean that the conceptual metaphors themselves are weak or do not show a strong connection within the Cold War periods themselves. On the contrary, in all of the conceptual metaphors, including these three now being discussed, the Cold War presidents, with the occasional exception of G.H.W. Bush, all share a strong connection. This would seem to indicate again that the nature of the terrorist threat and the nature of these three conceptual metaphors are simply incompatible in important ways. Similarly, should a strong state-based enemy emerge, these three conceptual metaphors may indeed be found to share a strong connection with the discourse of that time.

Both the conceptual metaphors and many of the metaphorical expressions used by the Cold War presidents can be found in G.W. Bush’s War on Terror rhetoric. There is

indeed a connection between the three time periods, though not in all of the conceptual metaphors. While the conceptual metaphors referencing or inferring national or governmental systems are not as strong in the War on Terror rhetoric, this is most likely due to the fact of the terrorists being a non-state entity. The conceptual metaphors not inferring national or governmental systems show a strong tie to their Cold War counterparts, suggesting that if it were not for this complication of a non-state entity, there would not be such a dramatic drop in related metaphorical expressions. The repeated attempts by G.W. Bush to connect these non-state entities to states and governments may in itself display a compulsion to fulfill a rhetorical structure from the Cold War.

Since G.H.W. Bush is the only president in this selection to preside over the end of one of the two conflicts, it is difficult to predict a similar resolution with another president should the War on Terror actually end in any meaningful way. If the same pattern as exhibited between the initiation and continuation of the Cold War with the initiation and continuation of the War on Terror should hold true for the culmination of the War on Terror, we may expect a weakened metaphorical vacuum concerning American national identity, still fearing an unknown enemy which *must* exist for the sake of self-identification; just as with G.H.W. Bush.

Perhaps even more interesting would be the situation if there were no meaningful end, or meaningful continuation, of the War on Terror after several decades the way there was with the Cold War. What would be the identification of America then? What would be the identification of the enemy? What if, perhaps, a “traditional” war between the US and another state breaks out in the interim? Can there possibly be two, separate but equal, united, perverse, immediate offenders who are the conveyance of *one* historical Evil?

There are many areas concerned with the aim of this work which are open and in need of further study. Expanding the universe of discourse to include the key policy texts and speeches of all of the administrations, not just presidents, would provide a more detailed picture of the evolution of the conceptual metaphors. This would be especially beneficial in understanding the origins of the Cold War, the Marshall Plan, and Nixon’s

policy with China. Additionally, investigating the identification of separate and non-state enemies, such as drugs, during the Cold War could provide answers to some of the questions and problems raised in the two previous paragraphs. A further expansion to include the Clinton presidency and post-Cold War US-Russian relations could also be beneficial.

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Appendix

Graphs of Metaphorical Expressions

Communism/Terrorism IS Threat

Communists/Terrorists IS Offenders

Non-Communist/Non-Terrorist Nations IS Sole Possessors of Freedom

Communism/Terrorism IS Unified Entity

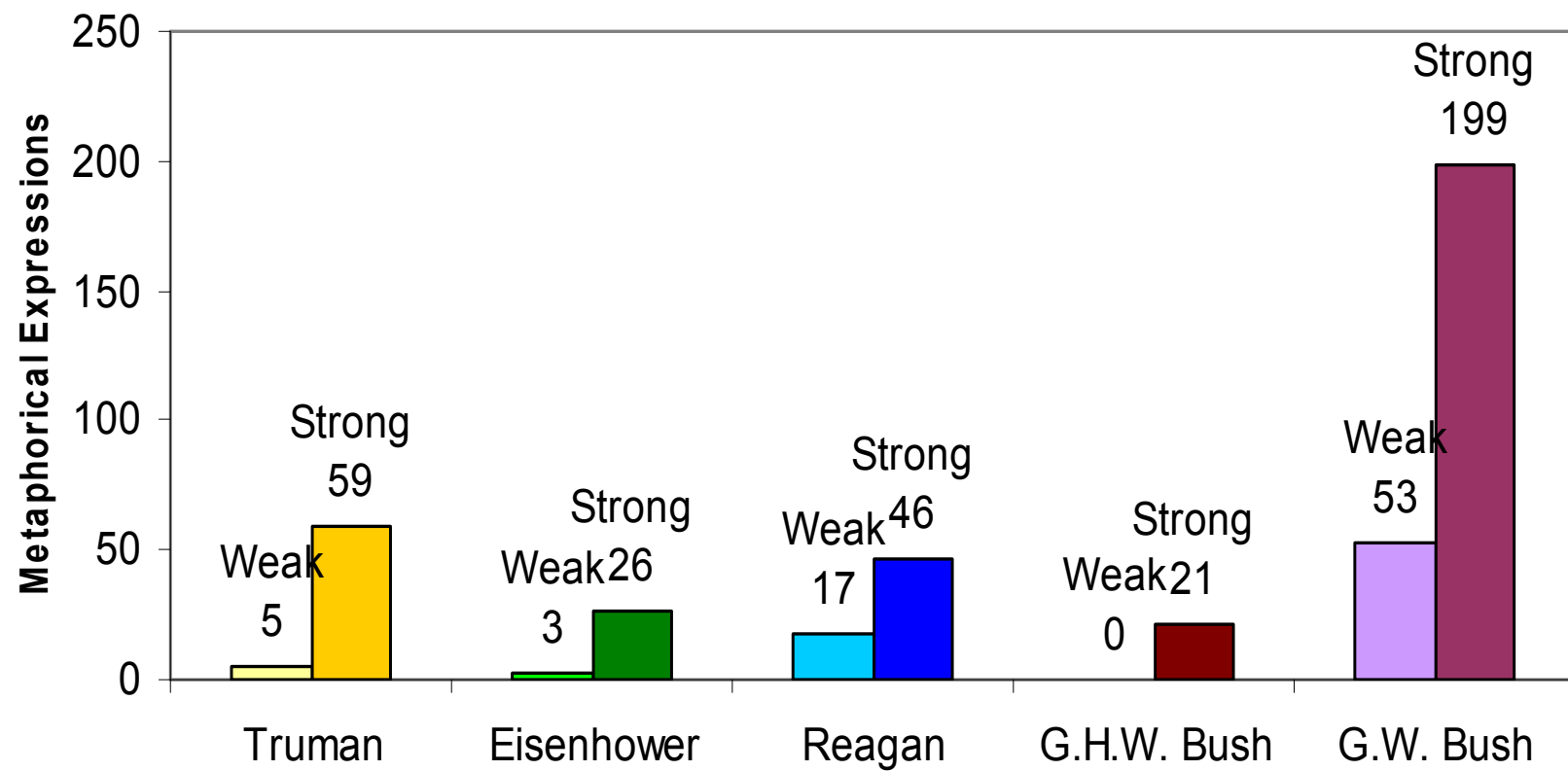
Economics IS Determinator of Politics

Communism/Terrorism IS Imposed System

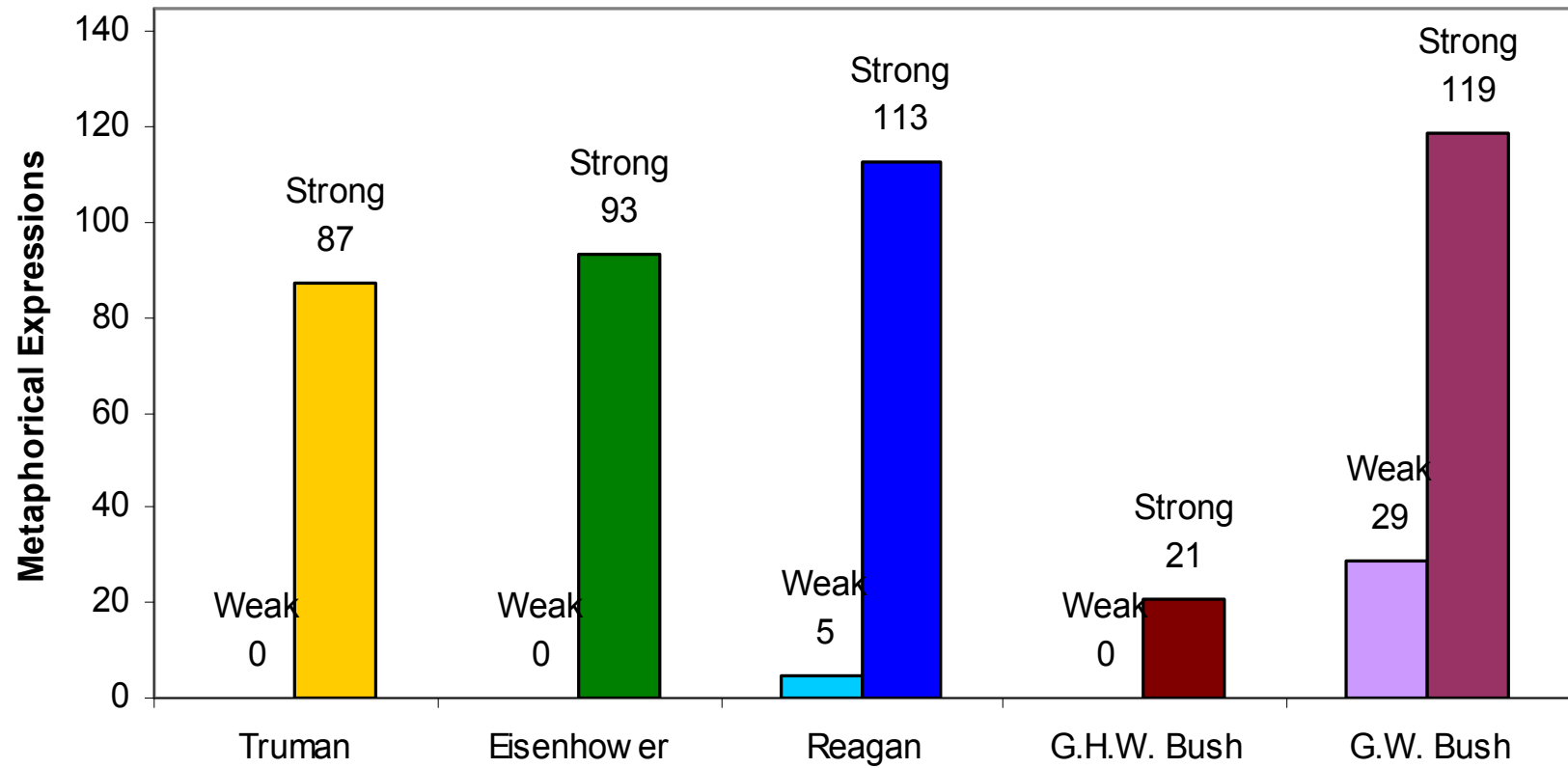
Communism/Terrorism IS Evil

Communism/Terrorism IS Perversion

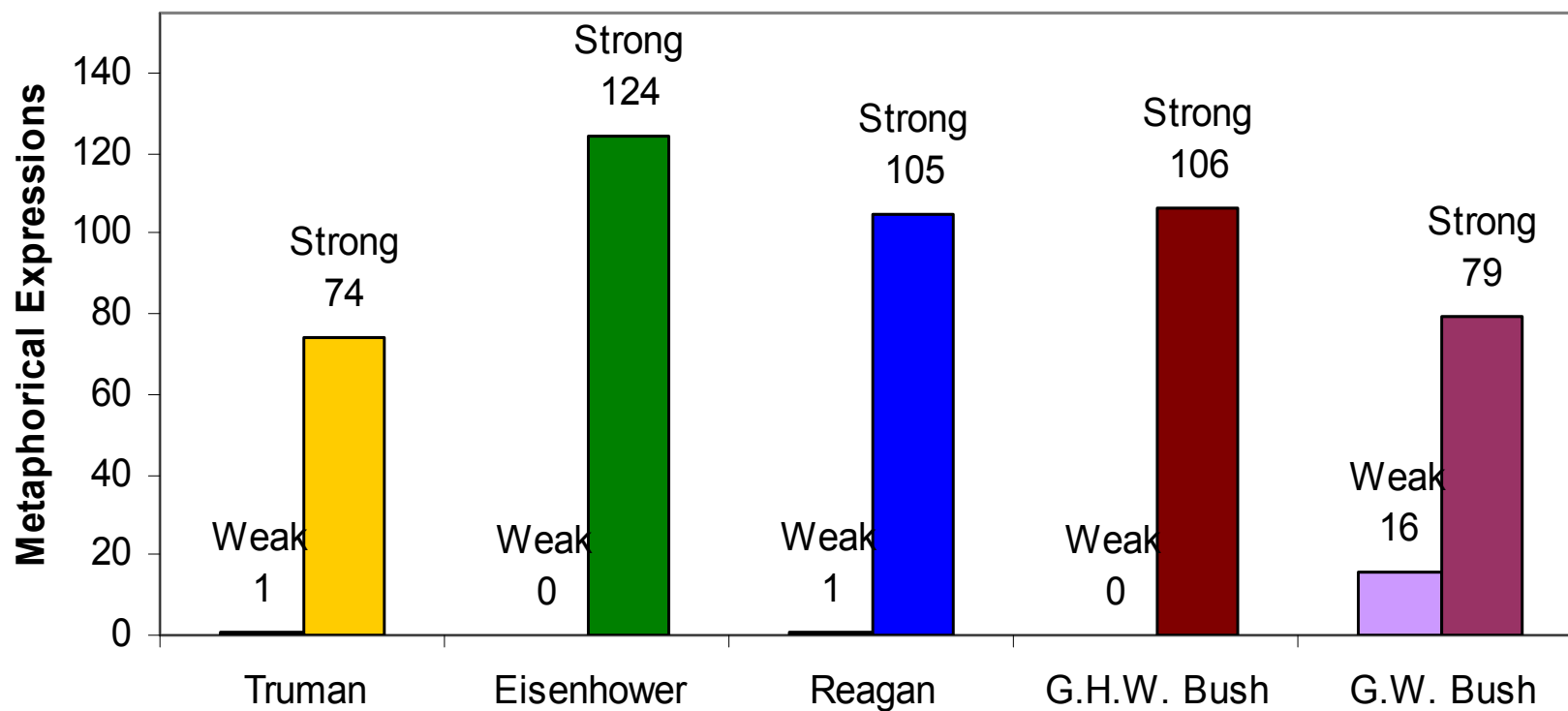
Communism/Terrorism IS Threat



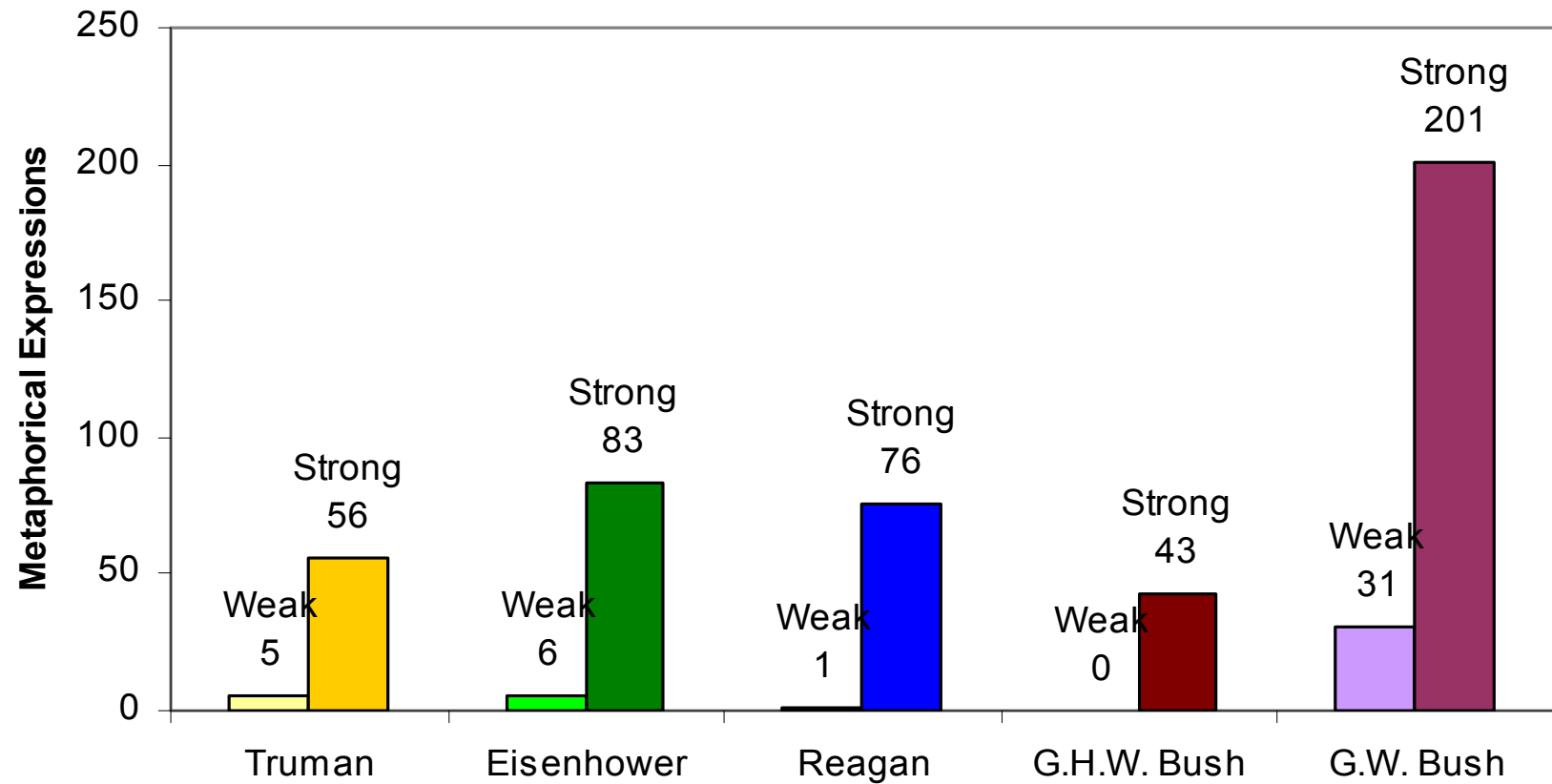
Communists/Terrorists IS Offenders



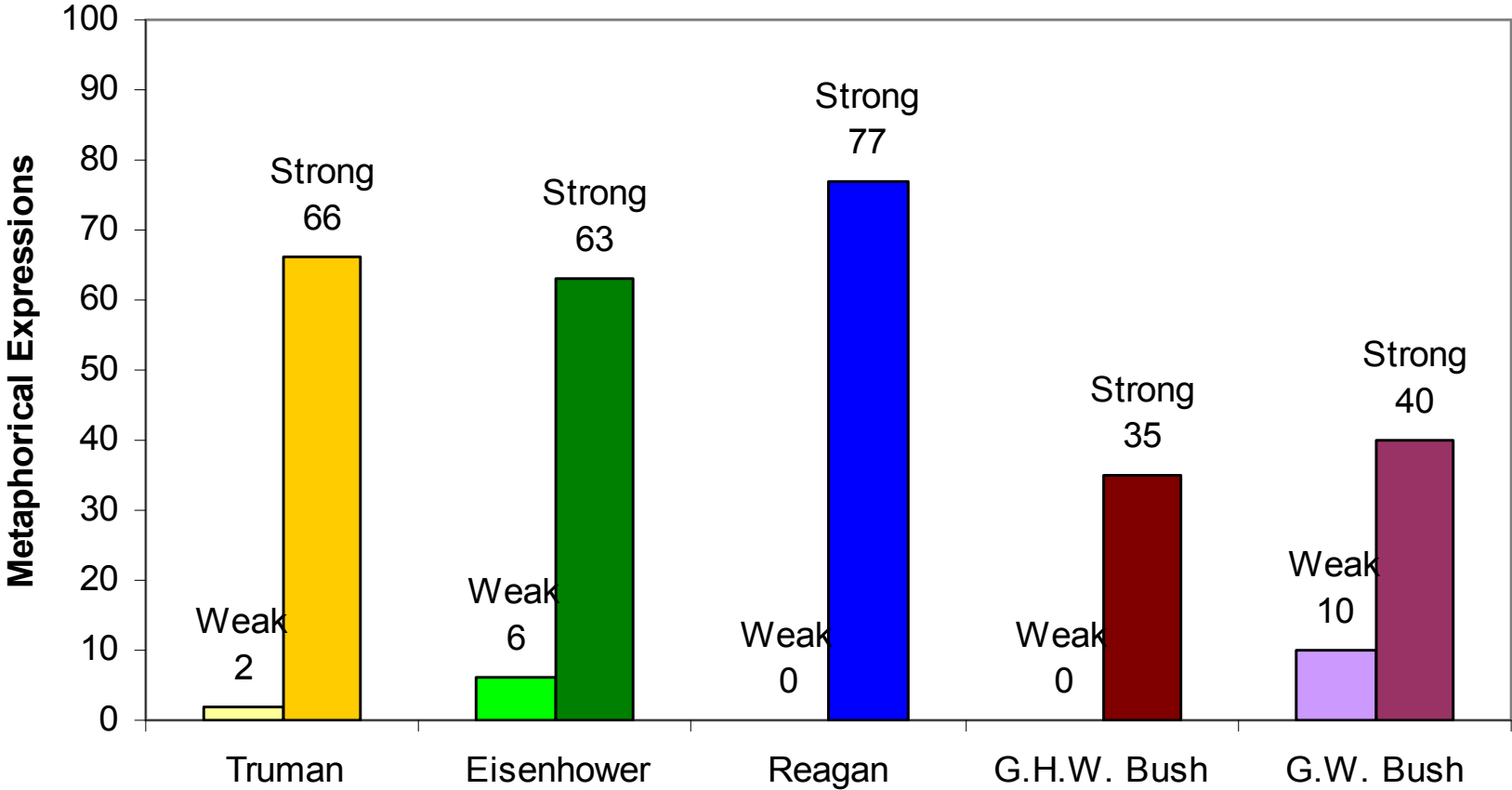
Non-Communist/Non-Terrorist Nations IS Sole Possessors of Freedom



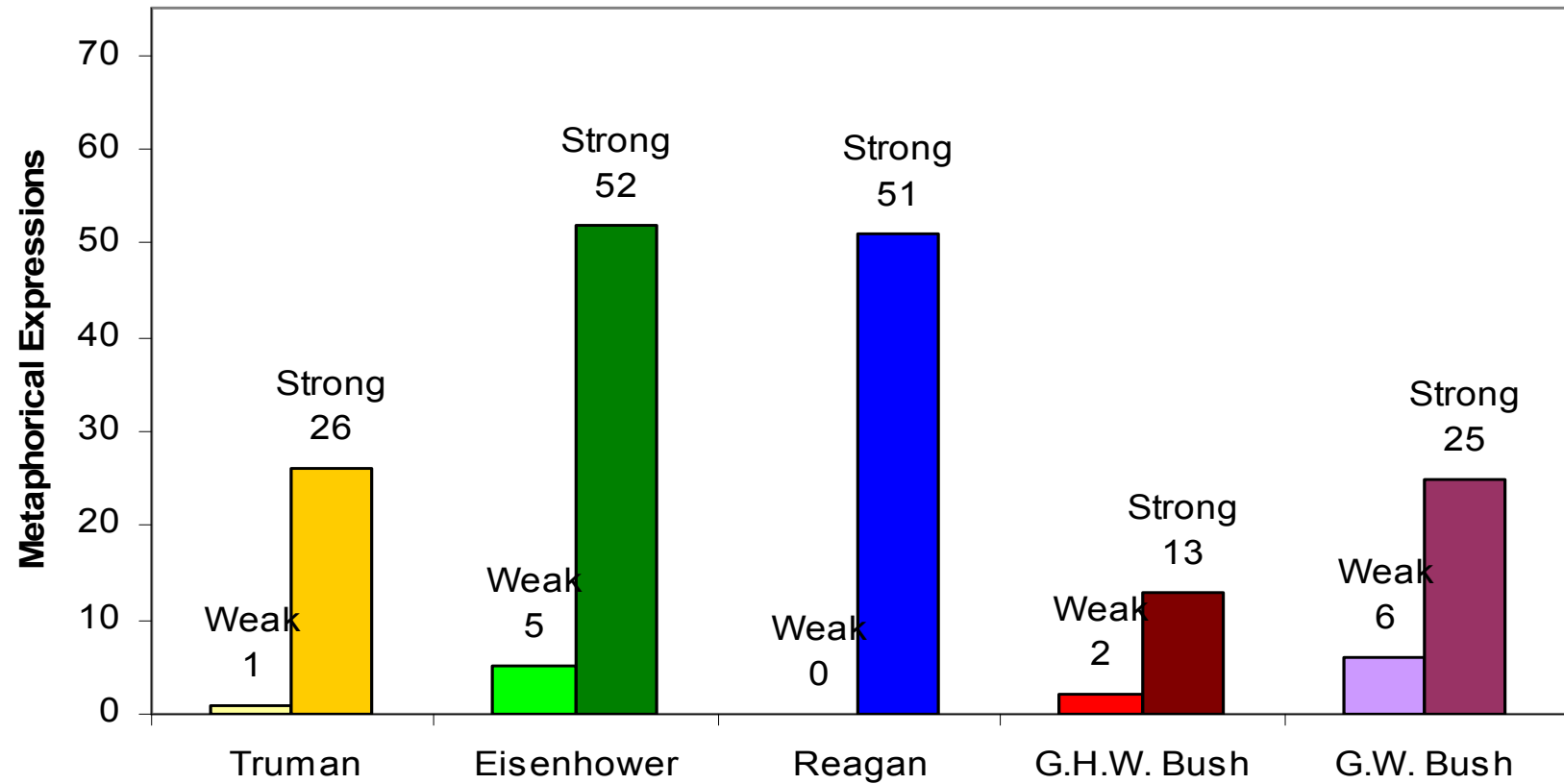
Communism/Terrorism IS Unified Entity



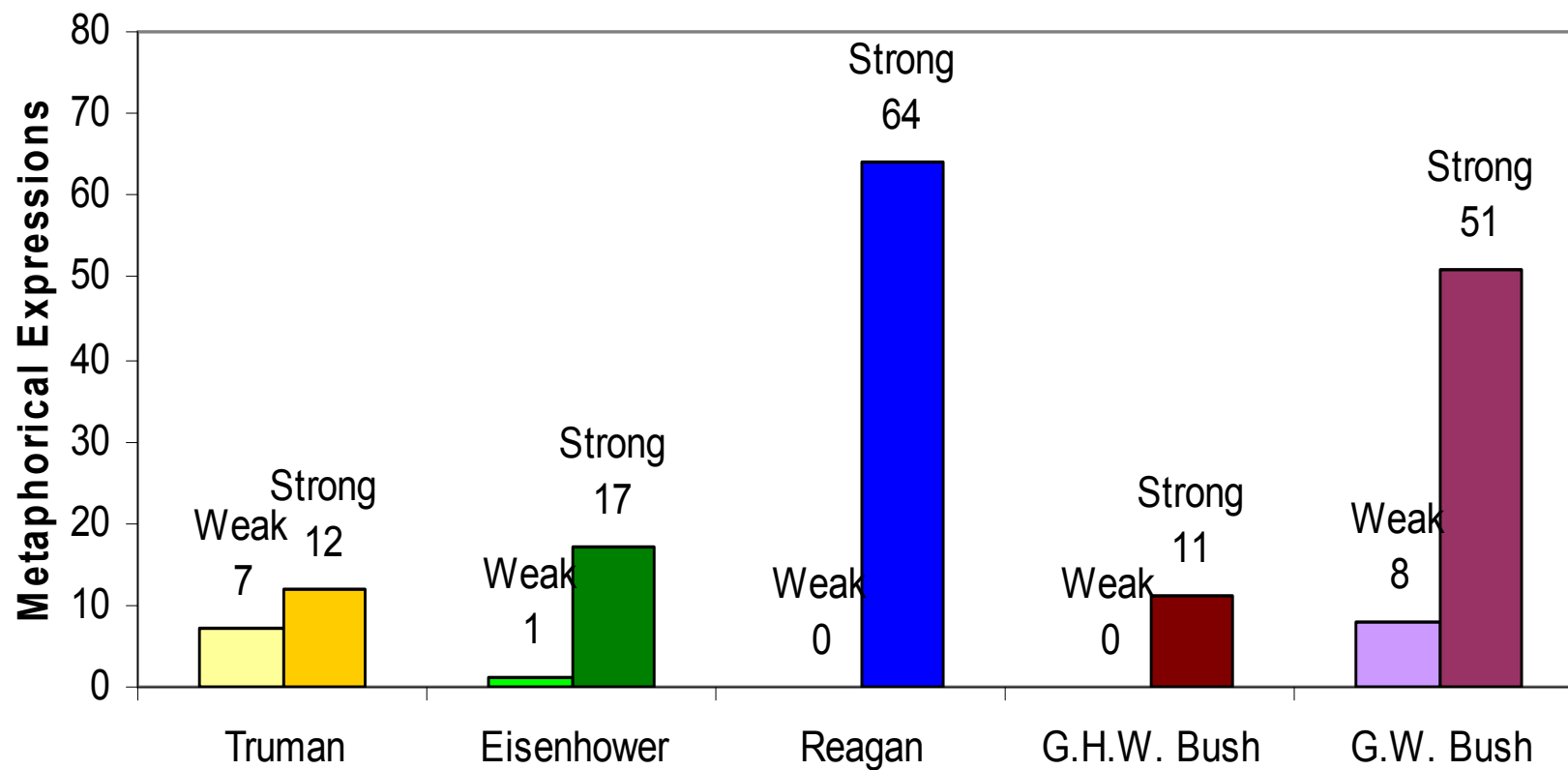
Economics IS Determinator of Politics



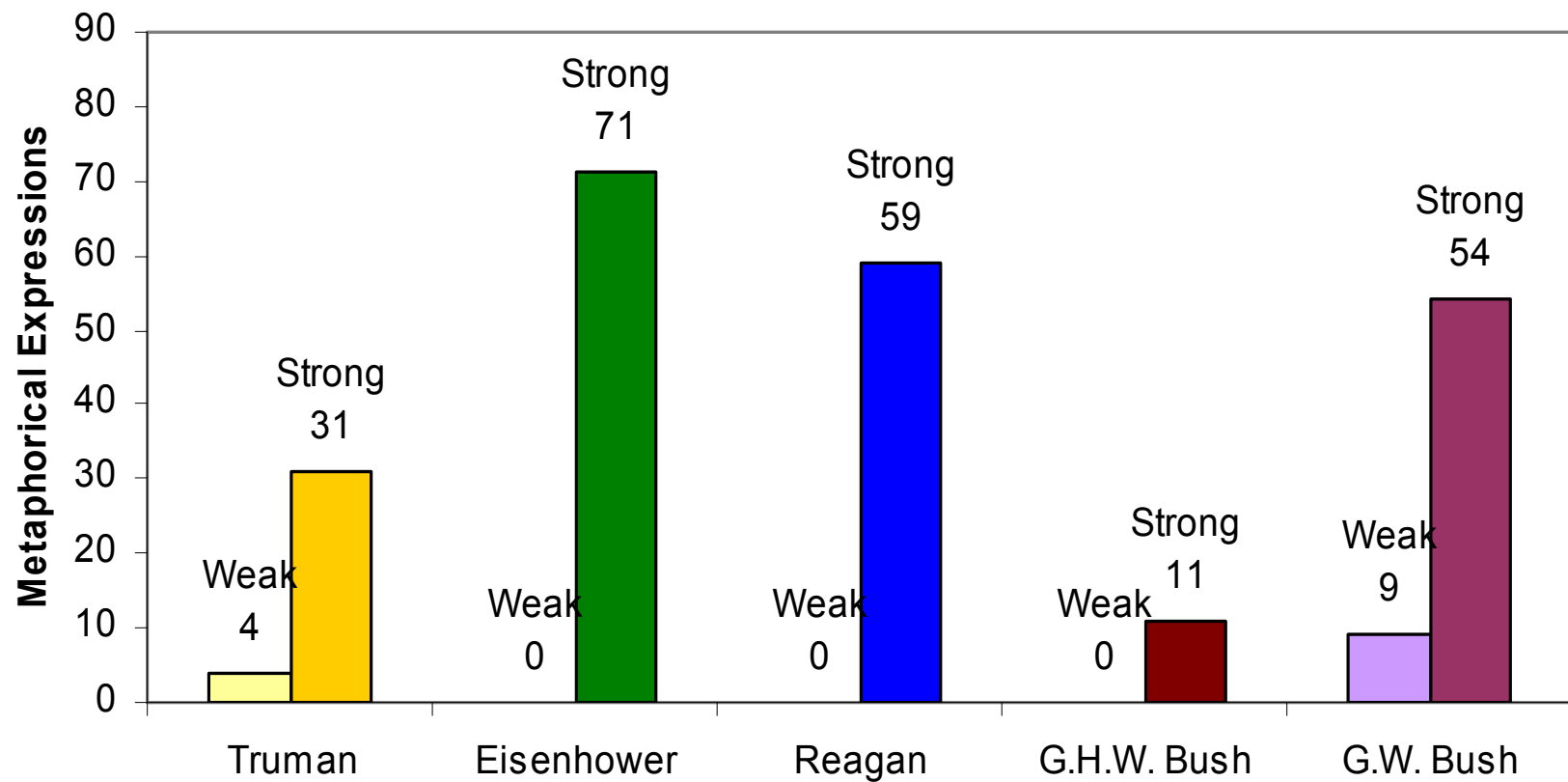
Communism/Terrorism IS Imposed System



Communism/Terrorism IS Evil



Communism/Terrorism IS Perversion



Thesis proposal

IEPS Masters' Thesis Proposal
George Hays II
Doc. Ing. Petr Drulak, PhD. –Advisor
June 11, 2007

The Effects of Cold-War Speech in the Post-Cold War World:

A Discursive Analysis and Comparison on Contemporary U.S.–Russian Relations and the American War on Terrorism

“An end has been put to the ‘Cold War,’ the arms race, and the insane militarization of our country, which crippled our economy, distorted our thinking and undermined our morals. The threat of a world war is no more.”

–Mikhail Gorbachev

The Cold War officially ended some fifteen years ago. It lasted for almost fifty, and the hostilities and mistrust that existed between the Soviet Union and the countries of Western Europe and the United States go back to the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian Civil War. During this time, the United States of America used a unique rhetoric to discuss, design, and describe policies and responses to international events that had never been experienced in the world before. The very term “Cold War” is an example of this situation, an international event that lasted two generations, which was neither fully war nor fully peace, but rather a perpetual conflict of some nature between states and ideologies. My hypothesis is that this long-standing and unique situation, and specifically the rhetoric that it spawned, continues to have a profound effect on the United States’ understandings, interpretations, and responses to international events today.

My hypothesis is based on the following assumptions:

1. Language shapes thought.
2. The members of the current U.S. administration either came of age during or spent their careers involved with the Cold War.
3. In either case, the current U.S. administration was consistently exposed to the rhetoric of the Cold War.
4. Being exposed to such rhetoric directed their thinking in regards to international relations towards a bipolar Cold War system.
5. The end of the Cold War system did not end their thinking patterns as geared towards a Cold War system.
6. The current international situation, in regards to both Russia and terrorism, is uniquely different from the Cold War system.
7. Not being able to readjust one’s thinking to the new international system creates problems in accurately understanding and responding to events in the system.

I will present an investigation and an answer to my hypothesis, as I am intending to answer the questions it raises and not prove a conclusion that I am starting out with.

There are certain real logical problems with some of my assumptions, one obviously being that terrorism was not experienced by the United States until after the end of the Cold War. This is not the case, and so it opens a door to a refutation of the argument that the U.S. dealt only with state-to-state relations during the Cold War and so had no reason to have developed language and thinking that centered on state-to-stateless group relations. This is a serious problem, and I will examine it in the course of my investigation.

In investigating whether or not my hypothesis holds, I will examine signature speeches from the Cold War in order to discover and analyze the language and metaphors directing American understanding and policy towards the Soviet Union. I will do the same for speeches regarding post-Cold War U.S.-Russian relations as well as terrorism, especially those speeches regarding the War on Terrorism. Through these analyses, I hope to discern whether or not there are indeed any influences from the Cold War era on the post-Cold War American understanding of international events, and if so, what implications these influences might have.

In the quotation above, Gorbachev recognizes that the Cold War affected his country in several negative ways, one of which was its way of thinking. I aim to discover what far reaching implications the Cold War may have for the United States in regards to its thinking and understanding. It spent half a century battling a state that proposed an ideology counter to its own. Now the U.S. is experiencing a Russian state without such a strong ideology, and other ideologies that do not have states. How has it responded, how will it continue to respond, and why?

- I. Introduction
 - 1. Introduction
 - 2. Structure of Paper
 - 3. The Importance of Language
- II. The Cold War
 - 1. A Definition of the Cold War
 - 2. The Rhetoric of the Cold War
 - 3. The Implications of the Rhetoric of the Cold War
- III. Post-Cold War U.S.-Russian Relations
 - 1. The Rhetoric of the End of the Cold War
 - 2. The Rhetoric of the End of the 90's
 - 3. The Rhetoric of Contemporary U.S.-Russian Relations
 - 4. The Implications of the Rhetoric of Contemporary U.S.-Russian Relations
- IV. The War on Terrorism
 - 1. A Definition of the War on Terrorism
 - 2. The Rhetoric of the War on Terrorism
 - 3. The Implications of the Rhetoric of the War on Terrorism
- V. Counter Arguments
 - 1. Presentation of Counter Arguments
 - 2. Response to Counter Arguments
- VI. Conclusion
 - 1. Summation and Implications
 - 2. Conclusion

VII. Bibliography

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William J. Clinton Presidential Library Archives

The White House Presidential Speech Archives

The Department of Defense Archives